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THOUGHTS ON MARY'S CO-REDEMPTION

The scope of this article is limited. It is intended simply to explain clearly the doctrine of Mary's Co-redemption, making a few observations on certain points which are more delicate and more subject to dispute than others. There is an abundant contemporary literature on this subject.[1] We shall pay special attention to it, without, however, entering into polemic or even into controversy. We shall likewise dispense with all unnecessary details of erudition.

No Catholic can doubt that the Blessed Virgin is a Co-redemptrix in the sense in which that term applies to other persons in the state of grace who pray for sinners, who devote themselves to the apostolate, and who sanctify themselves for others. This kind of Co-redemption, which we may term "subjective,"[2] consists only in bringing men to profit from the merits which the Redeemer acquired on the Cross of Calvary. By the fullness of her grace and by the strength of her maternal love, Mary accomplished this work in a supereminent manner. By her intercession, she still accomplishes it in heaven. However, when we speak of the Co-redemption of the Blessed Virgin we mean something else. We mean her co-operation *in the very act by which Christ redeemed us*. Jesus is Redeemer because, by His death on the Cross, He redeemed sinful man. Mary will be legitimately styled Co-redemptrix if she has had a real and meritorious part in Christ's sacrifice of Himself. We speak of a *meritorious* part in order to distinguish it from the culpable or merely material part taken by the Jews or by Pilate and his soldiers.

No one denies that Mary had a part, at least a remote one, in the redemptive sacrifice. He who died for us was the true Son of Mary. The Blessed Virgin had willingly consented to become His mother. She had borne Him in her womb, had brought Him

[1] For the period preceding the year 1933 see L. Leloir, *La médiation mariale dans la théologie contemporaine* (Bruges-Paris, 1933). For the literature of subsequent years, cf. J. Keuppens, *Mariologiae compendium*, 2nd ed. (Louvain, 1946); Cl. Dillenschneider, *Marie au service de notre Rédemption* (Haguenau, 1947).

[2] Cf. H. Lennerz, in *Gregorianum*, XII (1941), 305, where he quotes Cl. Schrader, Stentrup and Ad. d'Alès as favoring this terminology.

forth, nourished Him, brought Him up, knowing who He was and knowing that He was going to save His people by taking their iniquities upon Himself. On Calvary she at least accepted the will of the Father, that Christ should suffer and die for men. By that loving consent to become the mother of the Redeemer, Mary would be already, to a certain extent, a Co-redemptrix. The Popes and the faithful would have the right to accord her that title. No Christian can legitimately object to its use.

Is there not, however, a fuller sense in which Mary may be called Co-redemptrix? Is it not true that she has not only given the Redeemer to the world, but that she has also collaborated with Him *in the very act of the Redemption?* Has she not, in some direct and immediate way, contributed towards the make-up of the price with which man was redeemed?

We must be very precise on this point. We do not mean to place Mary on the same level as her Son in the work of our Redemption. Luther imagined that Catholic theologians were doing this when he said that Mary ought not to be exalted as the Mother of the Son of God in such a way that the glory of our Redemption and liberation should be taken away from the Son.[3]

There is only one Redeemer. Mary is only the Co-redemptrix. We must not think of her apart from her Son. We must not say unreservedly that the Blessed Virgin has redeemed us, nor that the Blessed Virgin has added to Christ's Redemption, nor even that, in the present order, Christ's merits would not have sufficed for our Redemption without Mary's co-operation. We must not say, finally, that Christ's merits would not have been accepted by God, if Mary's merits had not been added to them. But we will say that Mary has been associated with Jesus in the work of the Redemption, that Mary has contributed towards our liberation, that God has willed that Mary's merits should be added to those of Christ.

Let us recall, then, first of all, the reasons that lead us to think that Mary has co-operated in the very work of our Redemption, that is, in the acquisition of those merits through which we are saved, by an action that was real and immediate, albeit conjoined, participated and secondary.

[3] *Exeget. op. lat.*, I, ch. 1-4, 242 f.

First, what do we find in Holy Scripture? The Protoevangelium (*Gen.* 3:15), interpreted in the light of the New Testament and of tradition, gives us a basic answer.

We know for a fact that tradition refuses to see in the solemn sentence that was imposed in Eden a mere "folklore" explanation of the relations between man and the serpent. A good number of Fathers and theologians have understood this as a moral allegory; the rest have looked upon it as a prophecy of the Redemption. Some of this latter group are to be found in the very earliest times. Over the course of the centuries, however, they became so numerous that they were designated, prior to the Council of Trent, by expressions of universal meaning, as in the words "prout omnes doctores dicunt."[4] If today there are any theologians who refuse to admit that this text has a christological significance, they are rare indeed. In any event, this sense is manifestly in conformity with the faith of the Church.

It has recently been shown that the mariological interpretation, that is, the interpretation of those authors who see the victory of the New Eve over Satan prophesied here, gained continuously from the beginning until the time of the Reformation.[5] Luther interpreted the text as referring to Christ and to His Mother, but in such a way as to exclude her participation in the Redemption. He writes: "Who will not wonder, indeed, who will not revile the evil counsel of Satan who has, by means of inept exegetes, transferred from the Son of God to the Virgin Mary this passage so replete with consolation."[6] The "ineptitude" was supposed to consist in translating the passage "ipsa conteret caput tuum," instead of "ipsum conteret caput tuum." However, history shows that even those who accepted the latter version applied the passage to Mary.

For the time being, then, let us be content with the following assertion signed by 113 Fathers of the Vatican Council:

> Since, according to the apostolic teaching set forth in *Rom.* chapters 5-8, *I Cor.* 15:24, 26, 54, 57, *Heb.* 2:14-15, and elsewhere, the triumph which Christ gained over Satan, the old serpent, is composed of a

[4] Jacobus Perez de Valencia. Cf. T. Gallus, S.J., *Interpretatio mariologica protoevangelii* . . . (Rome, 1949), p. 132.

[5] Cf. T. Gallus, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 ff.

[6] *Exeget. op. lat.*, I, ch. 1-4, 242.

threefold victory over sin, and the fruits of sin, concupiscence and death, which are integral parts of that triumph, and since in *Gen.* 3:15 the Mother of God is represented as uniquely associated with her Son in this triumph, it seems to us indubitable, in the face of the unanimous testimony of the Holy Fathers, that the Blessed Virgin was foretold in the above mentioned passage [*Gen.* 3:15] as glorious by reason of that threefold victory.[7]

The Protoevangelium is generally employed, even in the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus,* to demonstrate Mary's Immaculate Conception. In most cases, the Co-redemption is implied in the demonstration. In fact, if we say that the Woman and her Son constitute the army that is victorious over Satan and his followers, we are led to understand not only that, like her Son, the Mother has never been defiled by any sin, but also that she has had her own part in her Son's victory. It is the Son *(ipsum)* who will crush the head of the serpent; but the enmity was established between the serpent, on the one side, and the Woman and her Son on the other. Through her Son, then, the Woman must conquer Satan.

It follows, first of all, that Mary won this victory in herself by her Immaculate Conception and by her freedom from all personal sin. But it also follows that she conquered him as did her Son, by wiping out the sin of the world. The triumph gained over Satan is the "Good Tidings" of the New Testament, and it consists in the redemptive work. If Mary has been associated in the triumph, she has also been associated in the redemptive work.

The enmities which were foretold and pre-ordained between the Woman and Lucifer terminated in the Woman's victory. She triumphed *through* her Son, but she also triumphed *with* her Son. The accent of the divine words would not have been placed so strongly upon the Woman if she were to have no function other than that of giving birth to the Redeemer. She is truly designated as being associated with the person and in the work of her Son.

Indeed, we must note that if Mary had not co-operated immediately in the act by which we were redeemed, we could still say that she had never been harmed by the devil, being exempt from sin, concupiscence and death. But in that case she would have had only the benefits of the victory gained by her Son. She would

[7] Cf. Hentrich-De Moos, *Petitiones de assumptione corporea B. V. Mariae in coelum definienda ad Sanctam Sedem delatae . . .* I (Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1942), pp. 97 f.

not have had the glory of it. She would not have belonged truly to the conquering group, but rather to the throng that was set free by the conquerer.

A person cannot be surprised that the full meaning of this passage was not perceived from the beginning by many of the Fathers and Doctors, if he remembers the figurative nature of the expressions employed therein, the inexhaustible richness of Holy Scripture, and the providential law of progress in the understanding of revelation. As a matter of fact, we must not think of the development of the teaching about Mary, even on the point we are now discussing, as being in rigid proportion to the passage of the centuries. Very early, and since that time at various intervals, we encounter expressions which are quite similar to those formulated in most recent times. In fact, this is one of the marks mentioned by Newman as a sign of a legitimate development. Actually, however, it is only little by little that these tiny glows of dawn have grown into a great light. Here are some important stages in that history.

We ought, perhaps, to begin with the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse where more and more exegetes see, in the Woman giving birth, Christ's Mother herself, considered either by herself or with the Church. The act of giving birth is represented here as an act of war against the Beast, and as a victory.

As great a theologian as St. Irenaeus long ago saw Mary close to Jesus, as Eve was close to Adam, Mary to save us through her obedience as Eve had lost us through her disobedience. "The bond destroyed through Eve's disobedience was repaired through Mary's obedience."[8] After citing several texts from St. Irenaeus, Fr. Eugene Druwé, S.J., concludes that "St. Irenaeus, as anyone can see, does not limit Mary's salvific co-operation to the production of the Redeemer, or, as we might say, to the preparatory stage of the redemptive work. He associates her in a direct and immediate way in the realization of the total effect."[9]

From then on, the parallel between Mary and Eve becomes classical. St. Ephrem, the Syrian songster of Mary, points to the pit into which Eve and the serpent had cast Adam and whence

[8] *Adv. haer.*, 3, 32; *MPG*, VII, 1958.

[9] E. Druwé, "La médiation universelle de Marie," in *Maria. Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, éd. H. du Manoir, S.J., I (Paris, 1949), 464.

Mary and her royal Son rescued him.[10] St. Ambrose recalls the sense which we have already seen in the Apocalypse: "Vicit te Maria quae genuit triumphatorem."[11] St. Augustine writes that Mary is our Mother "because, through her charity, she co-operated in the rebirth of the faithful in the Church."[12] St. John Damascene repeats the idea already expressed by St. Irenaeus: "Mary, being obedient to the divine will, deceived the deceitful serpent and brought immortality to the world."[13] An author of the twelfth century has left us a text which comes very close to some of the most precise statements made by recent Popes. He is Arnold of Chartres, who writes: "[On Calvary] the Mother's love co-operated exceedingly, in its own way, to render God propitious to us."[14] St. Bernard had already said: "Man fell because of a woman, and he will not be raised up again except through a woman."[15] St. Albert the Great, the leading mariologist of the thirteenth century, calls the Blessed Virgin "adjutrix Redemptionis,"[16] and Richard of St. Lawrence, in a work which was once attributed to St. Albert, styles her "ad mundi Redemptionem co-adjutrix."[17] The same author again states: "God the Father did not wish the human race to be saved and the devil to be overcome only by the death of His Son, but He decreed that Sisara should be handed over to a woman."[18] Gerson revives the hope of Christians, reminding them that Mary consented, in their stead, to Christ's offering of Himself to so much sorrow.[19] The ancient parallel between Mary and Eve is thus clarified by Salmeron in his own way: "Since the fall of man came from two persons, but primarily from the man, in the same manner, salvation and re-

[10] Ed. Lamy, II, 524.

[11] *De obitu Theodosii,* 44-47; *MPL,* XVI, 1400.

[12] *De virginitate,* c. 6; *MPL,* XL, 399.

[13] *In Nativit. BVM; MPG,* XCVI, 672.

[14] *MPL,* CLXXXIX, 1694. Cf. E. Druwé, *art. cit.,* pp. 507 f.

[15] *Hom. 2 super "Missus est," MPL,* CLXXXIII, 62.

[16] *Mariale,* p. 150.

[17] *De laudibus B.M.V.,* lib. 6, cap. 2; found among the works of Albertus Magnus, ed. Vivès, XXXVI, 329.

[18] *Op. cit.,* lib. 2, cap. 2, n. 2, p. 83.

[19] Ed. Ellies-Dupin (Antwerp, 1706). Fr. J. M. Bover, S.J., has gathered the principal texts of Gerson bearing on this point. Cf. *Gregorianum,* IX (1928), 254-69.

demption come from two persons, but primarily from Christ."[20]

These old texts, of which we have recalled but a few from among the clearest, do not, it is true, convey the doctrine of Mary's Co-redemption with all the precision of present-day theology. However, it is difficult to admit that they limit Mary's role in the work of Redemption to the sole fact of her divine maternity, or again to her office as dispenser of the fruits of this work as already accomplished. They clearly unite Mary and her Son in the latter's work taken in itself: she is His helper, His co-operatrix in that work. Just as Eve had an active share in the cause of our original prevarication, so Mary has had an active share in the cause of our restoration. This is the idea which must be retained and which implies Mary's real association in the redemptive act performed by Christ.

This function on the part of Mary has been presented with even greater precision by the Ordinary Magisterium and by numerous theologians. The words of Pope Pius IX in the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* concerning the union between Christ and Mary are deserving of serious consideration. The Pontiff's intention was, no doubt, to affirm Mary's victory as realized in her Immaculate Conception; but Mary's association with Christ, as referred to by the Pope, extends to the whole efficaciousness of the Passion. He states: "Even as Christ, the Mediator of God and man, having assumed human nature, blotted out the handwriting of the decree which stood against us and triumphantly affixed it to the Cross, so likewise the most holy Virgin, united with Him by a most intimate and indissoluble bond, together with Him and through Him wages a perpetual warfare against the poisonous serpent and, completely triumphing over him, crushed his head with her immaculate foot." Did Mary, therefore, have a part in the act itself by which Christ redeemed the human race? Leo XIII has explained this union saying that Mary "willingly offered up her Son to the divine justice, sharing in His death with her heart pierced by a sword of sorrow."[21]

Today, however, a greater emphasis is laid on the words of more recent Pontiffs. A text from Pius X would settle the argument: "Because she [Mary] far excels all others in sanctity and

[20] *Comment. in Evang. hist.*, tract. 41.

[21] Enc. *Jucunda semper.*

in union with Christ, and because Christ associated her with Himself in the work of man's salvation, she merits for us *de congruo,* as they say, that which Christ merited for us *de condigno.*"[22] Nevertheless, the above text has given rise to much discussion,[23] particularly by reason of the present tense *(promeret)* employed in the case of Mary's merit, while the past tense *(promeruit)* is used in the case of Christ. This difference of tenses, however, may well be explained in various ways; the choice of the present *(promeret)* is particularly justified in order to express a doctrinal truth which is independent from the circumstance of time. Besides, a little before in the same document we are told that, by reason of her intimate share in the Passion of Christ, Mary *merited* to become the reparatrix of the fallen race ("*promeruit* illa ut reparatrix perditi orbis dignissime fieret"), and that this title of reparatrix is distinct from that of dispenser of graces, as the cause from the effect ("atque *ideo* universorum munerum dispensatrix"). This being so, we believe that Mary's participation in the very act by which we were redeemed, is taught in this encyclical.

As to Pope Benedict XV, his words would really seem to defy any interpretation other than that of an immediate co-operation on the part of Mary in the objective Redemption itself. The Pope states: "She suffered and almost died with her suffering and dying Son; she abdicated her maternal rights over her Son for the salvation of man; she immolated Him, inasmuch as it was within her power, in order to appease the divine justice, *in such a way that it may rightly be said that she, together with Christ, redeemed the human race.*"[24] The dispensation of graces through Mary is, according to the same Pope, the *effect* of the above-mentioned co-redeeming function ("*hac plane de causa,* quas e redemptionis thesauro gratias omnes percipimus, eae ipsius perdolentis Virginis veluti e manibus ministrantur . . ."). Pope Pius XI both explicitly endorsed his predecessor's teaching[25] and also stated

[22] Enc. *Ad diem illum.*

[23] Cf. W. Goossens, *De cooperatione immediata Matris Redemptoris ad Redemptionem objectivam* (Paris, 1939), pp. 58-70. Against Goossens' interpretation cf. G. M. Roschini, *Mariologia,* 2nd ed., vol. 2, II (Rome, 1947), 267-77.

[24] Apostolic Letter *Inter sodalicia; A.A.S.,* X (1918), 182.

[25] *A.A.S.,* XV (1923), 104 ff.

that "the Blessed Virgin did have a share with Christ in the work of our Redemption."[26]

Pope Pius XII speaks in the same sense as his predecessors. In his encyclical *Mystici Corporis* we read, among other things: ". . . always most intimately united with her Son, as the New Eve, [Mary] offered Him on Golgotha, together with the holocaust of her maternal rights and love, to the Eternal Father for all the children of Adam stained by his disastrous fall."[27] Further on, the Pope speaks of Mary's role in the application of the already accomplished Redemption, or, as they say, in the *subjective* Redemption; but he does not confuse the two roles.[28]

In the face of such concordant and explicit texts we must admit that the doctrine of Mary's Co-redemption is frequently taught by the Magisterium. And by Co-redemption we mean that which is suggested by the word itself, namely, a share, a co-operation in the very act by which Christ redeemed the world: *objective* Co-redemption. On Calvary Jesus and Mary were united in the work which was being accomplished then and there. This is a fact which theological reflexion must undoubtedly endeavor to explain always more precisely, but which must not be either discarded or minimized.

As a matter of fact, theological reflexion on Mary's Co-redemption is nothing new. The texts which we have quoted above are sufficient to indicate the path to a satisfactory explanation. Let us try to propose it in the light of recent discussions. The explanation, it would seem, must bear on the following points: (A) By which acts did Mary co-operate in the redemptive Passion? (B) Did the merit of these acts increase the value of the price paid by Christ for our Redemption? (C) Was that merit *de condigno* or simply *de congruo?*

[26] Apostolic Letter *Explorata res est.*

[27] *A.A.S.*, XXXV (1943), 247 f. See J. B. Carol, O.F.M., "Mary's Co-redemption in the Teaching of Pope Pius XII," *AER*, CXXI, 5 (Nov. 1949), 353-61.

[28] Fr. S. Tromp, S.J., rightly observes: "In pericope de B.M.V., in qua exponuntur quasi omnes relationes Beatam Virginem inter et Ecclesiam, nota verba de cruce, ubi attingitur ordo redemptionis objectivae, et de Virgine adimplente quae desunt passionum Christi, ubi de redemptione subjectiva" (*Periodica de re morali, canonica, liturgica*), XXXII (1943), 40.

However intimately united we may consider the Mother and the Son, it was by acts different from those of her Son that this union was effected. According to tradition and the larger number of contemporary mariologists, these acts consisted in acquiescing in the death of her Son, in accepting it, in offering it up for the salvation of the human race in accordance with Jesus' own intentions and those of His Father. God had solicited the Blessed Virgin's consent at the time of the Incarnation when the Word was to assume a human life; *a fortiori* He must have requested her consent at the time of the Passion when that life was to be sacrificed. It must be supposed that from the moment of the Incarnation Mary's consent, given as it was in the light of Scripture and under the influence of divine grace, extended to the sacrifice of Him who was to be "bruised for our sins." At any rate, the presence of the Mother standing close by her dying Son on Golgotha is a guarantee that her consent was given at this supreme hour. God treats His creatures with too much respect to suppose that He decreed the death of the Son without including therein the free co-operation of such a Mother.

Mary's consent proceeded from a most perfect charity. At the same time, it was enriched by the factor of merit which accompanies the overcoming of a difficulty. It was a painful consent entailing the bitterest of compassions. The whole lamentation of the *Stabat Mater* and all the sympathetic tenderness of the Saints at the sight of the Mother of Sorrows are utterly inadequate to express a desolation which the Sacred Liturgy calls "great as the sea." This heroic conformity of the Mother with the will of the Father and that of the Son was certainly accepted by God. And what is more, it was pre-ordained by God for the very same end for which Mary suffered with her Son; for all the actions of so privileged a creature as the Mother of God were directed by a very special Providence.

All the above seems quite clear and, nevertheless, only an analysis of it is necessary to give us an exact notion of the doctrine of Mary's Co-redemption. God willed that the sacrifice of His Son should be offered to Him not only by the Son, but by the Mother as well. This offering is certainly not a remote co-operation in the sacrifice. It is an essential part of it. It is true that the offering made by Christ was the only one which was

absolutely required to satisfy the divine justice. But the offering of the same Victim, as performed by Mary in the selfsame sacrifice, contributed new fittingness to the offering made by Christ. This life which Jesus had received from Mary was immolated by Him in conformity with her who had given it and who retained certain rights over it. The human race offered to the Father, through Mary, the Victim which expiated the original prevarication and all the sins of the world.

It is understandable that not a few ancient and modern writers have actually entertained the idea of a "priesthood" in Mary; just as we can well understand the Church's warning against the temptation of attributing to her a priesthood in the proper sense of the word. Mary undoubtedly offered the Victim which was being immolated in a bloody rite; but her offering was neither necessary nor sufficient in itself to attain to the effects of that sacrifice. That, however, is no obstacle to its being real, preordained and accepted by God, nor to its being exceedingly fitting in the whole economy of our salvation.

Indeed, the close union between Mary and the Redeemer was fitting, not only because of His relationship to us, but also because of hers. In the counsels of God the Mother of Christ was to be also the Mother of men and the dispenser of all the graces merited through the Passion. By contributing, in her own measure, to the redemptive work, that is to say, to the acquisition of graces, Mary would later distribute to others that which in a certain sense belonged to her. We have already quoted several texts in which this nexus is forcibly stressed. Thus the certainty of Mary's universal mediation as regards the dispensation of graces corroborates her title of Co-redemptrix, as the existence of the effect proves the existence of its cause.

* * * * *

The Co-redemption does not consist in the offering on Calvary of two distinct and independent sacrifices, one being Christ's Passion and the other Mary's Compassion. It is rather the union between Mary and her Son in the latter's sacrifice; and the union itself is brought about by the heroic consent of the Mother to the death of her Son and by the offering she makes of it for the salvation of mankind. Naturally, this offering could not increase the value of the sacrifice made by the God-Man; but it had a value of

its own and it was willed by God out of respect toward the Mother of the Victim, to honor her and to constitute her the dispenser of all those graces to the acquisition of which she had co-operated.

One can readily see the essential difference existing between Christ's Redemption and Mary's Co-redemption. Christ gives up His life in the midst of untold suffering, and His offering, being made by a divine Person, possesses an infinite value. The Blessed Virgin, also in the midst of great suffering, gives her consent and sacrifices a life which is dearer to her than her own life. But it is neither herself nor her own sufferings that she offers—at least, not in the first place. She offers her own Son for the salvation of the world. Then again, the act by which she offers is not, like that of Christ, valid and acceptable by the very fact that it is performed. It is accepted simply because it is produced by a grace which is absolutely free on the part of God. Mary owes that grace to Christ; it is the fruit of His Redemption. For Mary herself had to be redeemed in order to be preserved from the stain of sin from the first instant of her existence. Her activity, therefore, compared to that of Christ, is not only secondary but also derived and dependent. Far from diminishing the role of the Redeemer, it rather brings out the latter's efficacy and power. As Salmeron had already expressed it: "All the power that Mary has, she has received from Christ, not only by reason of a certain fittingness, but due also to the excellency of the redeeming power of Christ who wished to communicate it to His Mother as to a Co-redemptrix (although He did not need her co-operation at all); and this, not only without diminishing the honor of Christ, but for His greater glory."[29]

And here arises a difficulty which has held back more than one theologian. If Mary's co-operation in the Redemption presupposes the Redemption as already accomplished, just as the fruit supposes the existence of the tree, how can her co-operation produce the Redemption itself? Being its effect, it cannot be its cause. In this case, are we not forced to limit Mary's Co-redemption to her role as dispenser of graces, that is, merely to the application of the effects of the Redemption already accomplished by Christ alone?

[29] *Comment. in Evang. hist.*, tract. 41.

We could not yield to the above objection without contradicting the texts in which we have seen that Mary's role as dispenser of all graces is clearly distinguished from her co-redeeming function, as the effect is distinguished from its cause. Indeed, it seems that if we accept the above objection, we would have to reject not only Mary's immediate co-operation in the Redemption, but also every other co-operation, however remote, which is not purely material. Let us take, for example, Mary's consent to the Word's Incarnation. This consent, produced as it was by the most ardent love, is the effect of the Redemption. Therefore (according to the objection), it cannot be considered as a co-operation, however remote, in the production of the cause from which it proceeds. In that case, and against the whole of Catholic tradition, Mary's only connection with the work of our Redemption would have been the purely material fact of giving birth to the world's Redeemer!

The difficulty, however, is not insurmountable at all. We may well conceive of Mary's having co-operated in the Redemption of others, without having co-operated in the Redemption of herself. Christ, it is true, died only once; but the effects of His sacrifice could have been applied according to a certain order. Wishing His Mother to be united with Him in the work of redeeming mankind, He has first—and He alone—sanctified (pre-redeemed) His Mother alone; and then, together with her, He offered Himself for the Redemption of the rest of mankind. We are dealing here with a question which pertains to the moral order, in which everything depends on the will and the intention. It was Christ's intention to offer Himself alone for His Mother, so that He might then offer Himself with her for the salvation of the world. This solution is demanded by the fact of Mary's Co-redemption. It is, as it were, implied therein. Just as Mary's Immaculate Conception was openly professed before the notion of "preservative redemption" was arrived at (although it was implied in it), so likewise many authors could be convinced of the fact of Mary's Co-redemption, without having seen, or, at least, without having expressed, the intentional priority of her own Redemption, which was nevertheless implied therein. This solution, which is easily grasped, is now accepted by many authors, among whom we may mention

A. Deneffe, S.J.,[30] H. Seiler, S.J.,[31] C. Dillenschneider, C.SS.C.,[32] and E. Druwé, S.J.[33]

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That the heroic act performed on Calvary by the desolate Mother of Christ was greatly meritorious for herself, no one can deny. Nor can there be any doubt that it was meritorious also (to a certain extent) for the salvation of mankind, for whose benefit it was performed. Excellent in its object, proceeding from perfect love, in spite of the pangs of her compassion, pre-ordained and accepted by God, it fulfilled in a very high degree all the conditions necessary for a meritorious act. In fact, some have gone so far as to say that it was meritorious *de condigno,* that is, proportioned in justice to the object in view. But no act of a mere creature can have, in the present case, such a merit. There is question here of offering reparation for the offense made to God; only the reparation offered by the God-Man is proportioned to this effect. The offering made by Mary attains to the salvation of mankind only in virtue of her union with, and subordination to, the offering made by Christ. It did not possess in itself the infinite value which was necessary. It is the effect of divine condescension, in virtue of which it is joined with an already superabundant satisfaction. Hence, we are no longer in the realm of justice, but in that of fittingness, liberality, merit *de congruo.* At any rate, this fittingness is exceedingly great and the efficacy of the act infallible.

* * * * *

To summarize. In our opinion, no one can deny the fact of Mary's co-operation in the very act by which Christ redeemed the world, that is to say, in the objective Redemption, as some call it, or in the payment of the price of our Redemption, as others say. Since this co-operation was not purely material, it was performed by free acts on the part of Mary, particularly by the consent which she gave to the sacrifice of her Son and by the offering she made of the Divine Victim for the salvation of the

[30] "De Mariae in ipso opere redemptionis cooperatione," *Gregorianum,* VIII (1927), 19 ff.

[31] *Corredemptrix* (Rome, 1939), pp. 123 ff.

[32] *Op. cit.,* p. 329, and more recently in *Marianum,* XI (1949), 216 ff.

[33] *Op. cit.,* p. 536.

world. It seems evident that this act of co-operation, united with Christ's own oblation, belongs to the sphere of the same Redemption which was being accomplished by Christ on Calvary, namely, the *objective* Redemption. In itself that co-operation was neither sufficient nor necessary; but it harmonizes admirably with Mary's other role in the sphere of the *subjective* Redemption, namely, the dispensation of all graces. Actually, it is an effect of God's wonderful mercy toward the human race. God not only willed that the divine Redeemer should be clothed in our human nature, but likewise ordained that the redemptive sacrifice should be offered up to Him by a woman of our own race at the price of a most excruciating Compassion.

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PROTESTANT MISUNDERSTANDING OF CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL LANGUAGE

I have employed myself in illustration in framing a sentence, which would be plain enough to any priest, but I think would perplex any Protestant. I hope it is not of too light a character to introduce here. We will suppose then a theologian to write as follows: "Holding, as we do, that there is only *material* sin in those who, being *invincibly* ignorant, reject the truth, therefore in charity we hope that they have the future portion of formal believers, as considering that by *virtue* of their good faith, though not of the *body* of the faithful, they *implicitly* and *interpretatively* believe what they seem to deny." Now let us consider what sense would this statement convey to the mind of a member of some Reformation Society or Protestant League? He would read it as follows, and consider it all the more insidious and dangerous for its being so very unintelligible: "Holding, as we do, that there is only a very considerable sin in those who reject the truth out of contumacious ignorance, therefore in charity we hope that they have the future portion of nominal Christians, as considering, that by the excellence of their living faith, though not in the number of believers, they believe without any hesitation, as interpreters [of Scripture?] what they seem to deny."

—John Henry Cardinal Newman in his "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," *Difficulties of Anglicans* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), II, 296 f.

"FORSAN ET HAEC OLIM MEMINISSE JUVABIT"

Our story reaches back to the late nineties. Our scene is clustered around a church with fifteen hundred families. The pastor is a worthy graduate of the old school, clinging fondly to its traditional "quam bonum et jucundum habitare fratres in unum." As a consequence, when the Forty Hours' Devotion comes around, priests from near and far pack cassock and surplice in the little black bag and are off for the meeting of the clans at Father B's.

It was a new experience for me. I had just returned home after my ordination abroad where I spent seven happy years. I was almost a stranger to the clergy of the diocese. So I eagerly looked forward to my initial reunion with my fellow diocesan priests.

About ten o'clock the first evening of the Forty Hours, after a two hours' session in the confessional, ten of us young and old with more or less decorum rushed into the rectory. There sat the pastor, his finger marking the place in a magazine that dangled from his hand on the rim of his easy chair. In parenthesis may I say that our host was a native son of the "Isle of Saints and and Scholars" and a welcome reader at clerical gatherings. In those days we had not yet heard of that paradox "silent reading" but now public reading is a lost art. Father B was not only an intelligent reader, but could also "lend to the rhyme of the poet the beauty of his voice."

When the fathers were seated after our explosive entrance, without any further ado our host began to read from the magazine: "It is all my fault. I was too free with my tongue. I said in a moment of bitterness, what can a bishop do with a parish priest. It was bad grammar and was not respectful. But the bad grammar and the impertinence were carried to his lordship and he answered, 'What can I *do?* I can send him a curate who will break his heart in six weeks.'"

On went our host for about twenty minutes and never did reader receive more rapt attention or author more sincere approval. It was no formal hand-clapping, but the sincere applause of respectful silence, always a worth-while tribute to the real and true. Thus was Canon Sheehan's *My New Curate* introduced to our little group more than fifty years ago. That night ten new names

were added to the subscription list of the *American Ecclesiastical Review.*

This literary scoop of the day was translated into many languages and read publicly at meals in seminaries throughout the Catholic world. Neither time nor custom can impair the delicate flavor of this classic of clerical life.

While the Review was regaling its readers with the early installments of *My New Curate* a heated theological discussion had just begun.

On consulting Vol. 17, 1897, p. 611, we read as follows: the question was proposed "whether, according to Catholic doctrine, children who die without baptism suffer torment?"

The answer to the question was signed by "H. J. H." Note there was no question about the *natural* happiness of infants in Limbo. "H. J. H." very ingeniously muses thus: "Loss does not mean pain unless the sufferer *realizes* his loss. If the soul were to be made conscious of loss, it would create a longing which would be equivalent to suffering. Here comes the mental leap. The longing might be equivalent to baptism of desire which their previous condition prevented them eliciting. . . . May we not assume that their longing will meet the mercy of Christ and bring them to the fruition of His expiation in the Beatific Vision?"

There you have the theological bone of contention and the war was on. Scores of volunteers donned their shining armour and gaily went forth to break lance with this doughty unknown knight. The battle raged furiously, the champions of the Faith vainly striving to crush their unknown opponent. Finally the editor, weary of the fray and fearful of its probable consequences, issued the following manifesto, Vol. 18, p. 242: "Our readers will not take it amiss if we reopen the question raised some time ago. The contention has a serious lesson. . . . We cannot print all communications." The editor then promised to publish three (one of which happened to be the present writer's). He concluded with "The editor of the *Review* has some partiality for 'H. J. H.' in whose behalf no one offered arguments. . . . We had compassion on the single combatant and we allowed him a margin to refute the views of his opponents." So an armistice was signed, peace declared and all parties satisfied. But there is a sequel. A few years later a well-known priest told the writer that he had good

reason to believe that "H. J. H." was no less a person than the worthy Herman Joseph Heuser himself.

And so, I have presumed on this sixty-first anniversary of the *Review* to submit two events taken from life. I trust I have not ventured beyond the bounds of discretion and good taste. The *Review* readers of today may find little interest in these two events of the last century. There are very few left of those who played an active role in them. But there is one survivor who knows how pleasant it is to talk together of "that sweetest form of death in life, the days that are no more."

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THE CHARACTER OF A TEACHER

The effectiveness of school methods depends upon the character of the teacher. If he lacks intelligence and individuality, they become mechanical devices in which the pupils can take but a mechanical interest. Rules and laws are of little use to those who have not been brought up to desire and love the guidance of law. He who is grounded in faith in the principle of law will become a good man, a good Christian, a good citizen; and nothing else will make him so. Faith in the principle of law is faith in God. If we form true men, the rest will form and reform itself. Schools where many things are taught, but where will, courage, seriousness, love of truth, great-mindedness, and respect and reverence for all that is high and holy are not cultivated, are institutions of perversion rather than of education. Let the teacher leave nothing undone to make brave, honest, chaste, unenvious men and women, even though they fail in scholarship. If conscience is not sovereign, it is nothing. . . . Whatever may help to make a man is the teacher's business. In him indifference is imbecility; it is impotence. The gift of eloquence is of inestimable value to him, but he should not, like the orator, seek to captivate and carry away his hearers; he should inspire, illumine, and prepare them for independence of thought, for freedom of view.

They are the best teachers who make study most attractive. This is the best genius does for its possessor; for what is it but an inner impulse which urges him joyfully to the pursuit of truth, goodness, and beauty?

—Bishop John Lancaster Spalding on "The University and the Teacher," *Opportunity and Other Essays and Addresses* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1900), pp. 119 ff.

ST. PAUL AND THE MYSTERY RELIGIONS

The apostle of the Gentiles frequently writes of the Christian mystery. He tells us that he is the minister with an office entrusted to him from on high to "fulfil the word of God: The mystery which has been hidden for ages and generations, but now is clearly shown to the saints. To them God willed to make known how rich is this mystery among the Gentiles . . . Christ in you. . . ." [1] This mystery is Christ Himself.[2]

The mystery is now revealed in "the fulness of the times: to re-establish all things in Christ, both those in the heavens and those on the earth." [3] Christ is the creator, but He is also the center of the supernatural order, from whom are derived and unto whom return all rays of grace. In brief, He is the keystone of the cosmological and of the soteriological order.[4]

Gentiles were once "without Christ, excluded from the community of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise. . . . But now in Christ Jesus you, who were once far off, have been brought near through the blood of Christ. . . . He it is who has made both one, and has broken down the intervening wall of the enclosure, the enmity, in his flesh." [5]

It is the special commission of Paul to preach this doctrine.

> For I suppose that you have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God that was given to me in your regard; how that by revelation was made known to me . . . by reading you can perceive how well versed I am in the mystery of Christ, that mystery which in other ages was not known to the sons of men, as now it has been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit: namely that the Gentiles are joint heirs, and fellow-members of the same body. . . . To me . . . there was given this

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[1] *Col.* 1:26. Cf. *Rom.* 16:25. The Christian Colossians were, of course, converts from paganism.

[2] Cf. *Col.* 2:3 (Greek).

[3] *Eph.* 1:10. The "fulness of times" means the Messianic time.

[4] Cf. *Col.* 1:14-21.

[5] *Eph.* 2:12-15. There was a wall within the Temple area, on which were signs in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, forbidding, under pain of death, Gentiles to enter. Now, as a result of the Passion, Gentiles as well as Jews have immediate access to God.

grace to enlighten all men as to what is the dispensation of the mystery which has been hidden from eternity in God.[6]

In Christ "are hidden all the treasures of wisdom (σοφίας) and knowledge (γνώσεως)." [7]

Now it is significant that of the twenty-eight times in which the word μυστήριον occurs in the New Testament,[8] twenty of the references are found in First Corinthians and letters written to the churches of present day Asia Minor. These were precisely the places the pagan mysteries were most often celebrated.

Hence it is not surprising to find that among others, A. Loisy[9] and R. Reitzenstein,[10] claim that St. Paul derived his central doctrines and his views on Baptism and the Eucharist from the secret pagan cults.

Let us therefore, briefly set down what is known of the various pagan mysteries, and then evaluate this contention.

THE MYSTERY OF ELEUSIS

This was in favor in early Christian times. St. Paul very likely at Corinth and Athens met members, for they were numerous in the Greek world.

Initiation assured immortality. In it, one drank a beverage, nourishment of the immortals. The soul will be happy forever, there is no resurrection of the body.[11]

DIONYSUS AND ORPHEUS

The rite consisted of eating of raw flesh of the bull (omophagy). To the devotees was communicated a divine power,[12] and an assurance of a happy eternity.

[6] *Eph.* 3:2-10. Peter was astounded when he was told from on high that Gentiles were to enter the Church (*Acts* 10).

[7] *Col.* 2:3.

[8] Cf. Moulton and Gedden, *Concordance of New Testament Greek.*

[9] Cf. *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien* (Paris, 1919).

[10] Cf. *Die hellenistischen mysterien-religionen* (Leipsig, 1910). The words γνῶσις and σοφία probably occurred in the pagan mystery rites, in which the initiates enter into secrets (μυστήρια).

[11] Cf. E. Jacquier, *Mystères païens (les) et St. Paul* in *DAFC, III,* 978 ff. This work will hereafter be cited as Jacquier.

[12] Omophagy lasted until Christian times. Arnobius mentions this savage rite (*Adversus nationes,* V, 19 [*CSEL, IV,* 90]). The Cretans at a divine

To this religious cult were attached Orphic doctrines which purified it. According to these, the soul is immortal, life is a burden, but there is metempsychosis. The divinity is just, salvation consists in union with him by means of purification, love and ecstasy.

Orphism underwent a decline, but had a renewal at the commencement of our era, and spread to the West. The cult of Dionysus was widely extended in Greece. It was found in Piraeus about 180 B. C.[13]

CYBELE AND ATTIS

This Phygian cult flourished early in the East and was found in Rome in 204 B. C. At first this worship was not in favor in the city, but later it numbered quite a few adherents. The Romans venerated the goddess under the title Magna Deum Mater.

Its votaries celebrated the relation of mother earth and her products. The birth, growth, voluntary castration, and death of Attis were symbolized. The mysteries revealed by degrees a wisdom considered divine. They commemorated the death and resurrection of Attis as types of that of the adepts. These latter had mystic repasts of which Clement of Alexandria gives us a formula of initiation, *ex tympano comedi, bibi ex cymbalo, cerneum* (sacred vessel) *gestavi, me in thalamum clam insinuavi.*[14] This cult had more adherents than any other mystery religion.[15]

OSIRIS AND ISIS

These mysteries were widely extended. They are very ancient. Originally Egyptian, they were transformed by diffusion. Athens knew them in the third century B. C., and they were to be found at Rome in the first century B. C. Thus in the early Christian era they were everywhere in the West.

The mysteries depicted the suffering and death of Osiris. They had public rites as well as secrets for initiates. They were known by Plutarch (*circa* 120) and Apuleius (*circa* 125).

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funeral feast rent a living bull with their teeth. The Maenads devoured raw flesh and hot blood in haste lest the spirit escape. Cf. J. W. Duff, "Communion with the Deity" in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, III, 765.

[13] Cf. Jacquier, 975 f.; also R. T. Murphy in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, VIII (1946), 36-42.

[14] *Protrepticus*, II, 5 (*MPG*, VIII, 77).

[15] Cf. Jacquier, 973 ff.; also V. Couke in *Collationes Brugenses*, XLV (1949), 237-242.

Osiris died and arose, the prototype of men who observed the rites. The devotees held immortality of the body and of the soul. Ceremonies were initiation, abstinence, baptism, and communication of the mystic formulas. The cult had a temple in Rome in the Campus Martius, near the present San Ignazio, and another, erected in time of Caracalla, on Monte Celio.[16]

THE WORSHIP OF MITHRAS

This rite could have been known to the Apostle of the Gentiles. It was found at Tarsus. Originally an Iranian worship, it acquired Chaldean accretions. The frequency of the name Mithradates shows that the cult was common in Cappadocia and Pontus. It was brought into the Roman empire by the legionaries, and was widely diffused at the commencement of the Christian era. Its doctrines may not have been developed then as fully as when we get information of them. This information comes from the early Fathers of the Church. They boldly charge the sect with plagiarizing Christianity. But, and this is a most important point, it was not an exclusive sect. Its votaries could belong to other religious organizations and worship other gods.

It had seven degrees of initiation,[17] and a form of baptism.[18] In the West only men were admitted to membership. The adepts held their meetings in caves or in grottos. Well known to Roman students and visitors in the temple of Mithras in the underground of S. Clemente.[19]

Little is known of the doctrine of the votaries. Originally Mithras appeared as the light of the sun. Greek art represents the death of a bull, symbolizing the victory of Mithras over the first creature to come from the hand of the supreme god. This personifies the sun as the conqueror of darkness. From the dead bull arises the rest of creation.

[16] Cf. Jacquier, 977 f. In *Revue Biblique* XIII (1916), 291 ff., we find a resumé of *oxyrhyncus* papyri, vol. 11. It deals with Isis. She is called σώτειρα but nothing indicates that she saves by conferring immortality. She did that only for Osiris, her spouse, and for Horus, her son.

[17] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 107,*Ad Laetam (MPL,* XXII, 869).

[18] Cf. Tertullian, *De baptismo,* 5 *(MPL,* I, 1204).

[19] The authority on Mithraism is Franz Cumont, with his two works, *Textes et manuscrits relatives aux mystères de Mithra* (Bruxelles, 1896-99) and *Les mystères de Mithra,* 3rd ed. (Bruxelles, 1913).

Mithras is a legislator with precepts. He promises a reward in this life and in the next. Immortality of the body is taught. The evil are delivered up to fire. This was the most elevated of the heathen cults, and had an especial appeal to soldiers.

Julian the Apostate reserved in the Pantheon a place of honor for Mithras. This marks a wide gulf between this worship and Christianity. St. Paul's religion was exclusive, not syncretic,[20] but Rationalists ignore this point.

DID ST. PAUL BORROW FROM PAGANISM?

The Apostle of the Gentiles tells us that he became all things to all men that he might save all.[21] He adapted himself to the capacities and intellectual background of his hearers. In Athens he spoke of the Unknown God and quoted one of the Greek poets.[22] He frequently employed the terminology of athletic games.

Now many of his converts had probably been initiated into one or more of the mysteries. For though most of the Christian neophytes, at Corinth at least, were from the lower classes,[23] the mystery cults were not rigidly exclusive.[24]

These former devotees might have told their father in Christ some of the doctrines or ritualistic practices of various pagan cults. The Apostle himself, brought up at Tarsus, a center of philosophic Hellenism, may have acquired a smattering of knowledge of heathen religions.[25] If so, in the designs of providence, he could have made use of this information to spread the Kingdom of God.

A Catholic priest of today would hardly use the terms hylomorphism and theandric in preaching to a congregation in the hinter-

[20] "Therefore, beloved, flee from the worship of idols. . . . You cannot drink of the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; you cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils" (*I Cor.* 10:14-22). "What fellowship has light with darkness? What harmony is there between Christ and Belial? Or what part has the believer with the unbeliever? And what agreement has the temple of God with idols?" (*II Cor.* 6:15-17). These lines are significant. It is the spirit of paganism that Christians must shun. The synopsis of Mithraism is from A. D'Alès in *DAFC*, III, 578-99.

[21] Cf. *I Cor.* 9:22.

[22] Cf. *Acts* 17:22-29.

[23] Cf. *I Cor.* 1:26.

[24] Cf. L. R. Farnell and H. J. Rose in *The British Encyc.*, XVI, 45, 47.

[25] Cf. J. Parkes, *Jesus, Paul, and the Jews* (London, 1936), pp. 66, 122.

lands, but in addressing a group of intellectuals he might adopt the philosophical terminology of the age. The Church baptized the term *Summus Pontifex* and gave an honorable connotation to the word Christian. The epithet "Jesuit," once employed as a term of contempt, has now lost that connotation.[26]

In the mysteries and in St. Paul we have some common terms as death, resurrection and salvation, but in the thought content of these words there is found an utter dissimilarity. In the Apostle of the Gentiles we have history; in the pagan cults we find myths. In both death is featured. However, in St. Paul's teaching, Christ's death is an atonement for the sins of mankind; while the myths are symbolic, representing as they do, the cycle of nature which is rounded out by the unspringing of nature and of the crops.

While the ex-Pharisee is willing to use terminology familiar to his readers, on ideas he would not compromise. The central theme of Christianity is that of a crucified God. That shocked the pagan world to its depths, but St. Paul preached it, repeated it, reiterated it. "Oh foolish Galatians!" he writes, "before whose eyes Christ has been depicted crucified." [27] To the Corinthians he proclaims, "for I determined not to know anything among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified." [28] "We, for our part, preach a cru-

[26] When we search for terms used exclusively in the Mysteries, they turn out to be very few; τέλειος (perfect) was never used to denote the initiates. Cf. Jacquier, 986, and E. B. Allo, *Première épitre aux Corinthiens* (Paris, 1934), p. XLVI; ἀπόκρυφοι (*I Cor.* 2:7; *Eph.* 3:9; *Col.* 1:26) does not necessarily show connection with the Mysteries (cf. Allo. *ibid.*, p. 41).

Our Lord, whom no one has accused of being a Hellenist, said, "I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and prudent and didst reveal them to little ones" (*Matt.* 11:25). He also told the Twelve, "to you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God; but to those outside, all things are treated in parables" (*Mark* 4:11). Why Our Lord spoke to the people in parables is a moot point. For a recent answer to this question, cf. M. Hermaniuk, *Les paraboles évangéliques* (Louvain, 1947).

One word at least was employed in the language of the cults, ἐμβατεύειν (Col. 2:18). It denoted "the climax of initiation, where the Mystes 'sets forth on' the entrance to the new life which he is now to share with God" (cf. Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, s.v.).*

[27] *Gal.* 3:1.

[28] *I Cor.* 2:2; cf. also 1:13.

cified Christ, to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Gentiles foolishness." [29]

Now to the pagans, crucifixion was an utterly horrible thing. Cicero states that "the executioner, the veiling of the head, and the very word 'cross' should be removed not only from the person of the Roman citizen, but *from his thoughts* [italics mine] . . . the mere mention of them, that is unworthy of a Roman citizen and a free man." [30] In the trial of Verres he thundered, "facinus est vinciri civem romanum; scelus, verberari, prope parricidium, necari: quid dicam in crucem tollere? Verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest." [31]

Lucian satirizes the Christians for worshipping "their crucified sophist." [32] Pagans charged Christians with worshipping the head of an ass,[33] or the cross.[34] Nor were the calumnies of pagans confined to writings. There is the notorious *graffito* of the Palatine, a crude sketch of a crucified figure with the head of an ass, before whom stands a soldier. The legend runs, "This is Alexamenus, worshipping his God." [35] From Justin also we learn that the crucified Christ made no appeal to pagans.[36]

It is evident then that St. Paul was not inclined to soften or tone down his doctrines to suit pagan sensibilities. In fact, there was, he says, a deep chasm separating Christianity and heathendom.

[29] *I Cor.* 1:23. Other references to the cross are *I Cor.* 1:17; 2:8; *Gal.* 2:19; 5:11; 6:12-15; *Phil.* 2:8; 3:18; *Col.* 1:20; 2:14. It may be added that the Apostle states that his doctrine on the crucifixion agrees with that of the other apostles. He avers, moreover, that the risen Christ was seen by Cephas, the Eleven, and "by more than five hundred brethren at one time, many of whom are with us still" (*I Cor.* 15:1-12. Now no pagan ever claimed to have seen any of his demi-gods, either before or after that divinity's death.

[30] Cicero, *The Speeches*, with an English translation by H. Grose Hodge (London, 1947). The citation is from *Pro Rabiro*, 5, 16.

[31] *In Verrem*, Actionis Secundae, lib. 5, LXVI.

[32] *Peregrinus*, 13. The full Greek citation is found in J. Lebreton, *Hist. du dogme de la Trinité*, II, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1928), 205.

[33] Cf. Minutius Felix, *Octavius*, 9 (*MPL*, III, 26).

[34] Cf. *ibid.*, 262.

[35] The *graffito* is reproduced in Dom Cabrol, *DAC*, I, 2043. It is assigned to the early days of the Antonines.

[36] *"Si quis cum Crucifixum objiciat." Apol.* I, 22 (*MPG*, VI, 362).

There is no God but one. For even if there are what are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth (for indeed there are many gods, and many lords), yet for us there is only one God, the Father from whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him.[37]

The Apostle has harsh words on the subject of pagan sacrifices; they are abominable in the sight of God.

Therefore, beloved, flee from the worship of idols . . . what then do I say? That what is sacrificed to idols is anything, or that an idol is anything? No; but I say that what the Gentiles sacrifice, "*they sacrifice to devils* and not to God"; and I would not have you become associates of devils. You cannot drink of the cup of the Lord and of the cup of devils; you cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils.[38]

There was no room for syncretism in the Apostle's theology. He asks:

What fellowship has light with darkness? What harmony is there between Christ and Belial? Or what part has the believer with the unbeliever? And what agreement between the temple of God and idols? For you are the temple of the living God.[39]

The heathen world spelled to him only abominable vice.

God has given them to shameful lusts; for their women have exchanged the natural use for that which is against nature, and in like manner the men also, having abandoned the natural use of the woman, have burned in their lusts for one another, men with men doing shameless things and receiving in themselves the fitting recompense of their perversity. And as they have resolved against possessing the knowledge of God, God has given them up to a reprobate sense, so that they do what is not fitting; being filled with all iniquity, malice, immorality, avarice, wickedness; being full of envy, murder, contention, deceit, malignity; being whisperers, detractors, hateful to God, irreverent, proud, haughty, plotters of evil; disobedient to parents, foolish, dissolute, without affection, without fidelity, without mercy.[40]

To the Ephesians the Apostle draws a sharp contract between their pagan and Christian milieu.

[37] *I Cor.* 8:5.
[38] *I Cor.* 10:14-22.
[39] *II Cor.* 6:15 f.
[40] *Rom.* 1:26-32.

Let no one lead you astray with empty words; for because of these things the wrath of God comes upon the children of disobedience. Do not, then, become partakers with them. For you were once darkness, but now you are light in the Lord. Walk, then, as children of light (for the fruit of the light is all goodness and truth), testing that which is pleasing to God; and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather expose them. For of the things that are done by them in secret it is shameful even to speak.[41]

The same pen picture he draws in his First Letter to the Corinthians.

Do not err; neither fornicators, nor *idolators*, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor the covetous, nor drunkards, nor the evil-tongued, nor the greedy will possess the kingdom of God. And *such were* some of you, but you have been washed, you have been sanctified, you have been justified in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the spirit of our God.[42]

Here we call attention to a point overlooked by the critics who find in paganism an explanation of St. Paul's theology. The mysteries made little or no attempt to remove sin or to amend morals. The salvation they furnished was merely mechanical.[43]

BAPTISM AND THE EUCHARIST

It is true that the ceremony of baptism was employed in some of the mysteries. But that by no means implies that St. Paul derived his sacramental doctrine from this practice.

In the New Testament we read that John, the son of Zachary, performed upon his disciples a religious rite of ablution "for repentance."[44] Our Lord Himself instituted the Sacrament of Baptism,[45] and it was by this sacred rite that the Apostle of the

[41] *Eph.* 5:6-13. The expressions "empty words," "unfruitful works of darkness" and "the things that are done in secret by them," may well be a reference to the mysteries. St. Paul in this letter unfolds the Christian mystery (1:9 ff.).

[42] *I Cor.* 6:9-12.

[43] Cf. R. T. Murphy in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, VIII (1946), 50; also Jacquier, 1003; and C. A. Scott, *Christianity According to St. Paul* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 199.

[44] Cf. *Matt.* 3; 11:1-20; *Mark* 1:1-12; *Luke* 3:1-23; 7:29-31; *John* 1:19-35; 3:22-31.

[45] Cf. *John* 3:5.

Gentiles himself was made a Christian.[46] This was standard procedure in the early Church even before St. Paul became a member.[47]

Moreover, there is a vast difference in the *significance* of Christian and pagan baptism. The latter in no way was connected with moral doctrine. Christ, on the other hand, commanded faith as well as baptism.[48] The first converts, on St. Peter's orders, were baptised only after repentance.[49] But more important, baptism worked a complete moral change. This was proclaimed by Our Lord Himself,[50] and is beautifully described by St. Paul.[51]

Far from Christians copying the ceremonies of pagans, Justin and Tertullian assert that the devil induced the devotees of paganism to imitate the Christian lustral rite.[52] This testimony cannot be disregarded, for we have scant, if any, knowledge of the ritual of the mysteries before the Christian era.

As for the Eucharist, the Apostle, as we have seen, calls pagan banquets in honor of gods, the table of demons.[53] It was from Christ Himself that he received the doctrine of this august sacrament.[54] The story of the institution of this rite is found in all the Synoptics. Now critics do not accuse these latter of Hellenistic borrowing.

On the other hand, Justin charges that the demon, in the rites of Mithras, copied the Eucharistic ceremony.[55]

[46] Cf. *Acts* 9:18.

[47] Cf. *Acts* 8:16, 26-40.

[48] Cf. *Mark* 16:16.

[49] Cf. *Acts* 2:38-42.

[50] Cf. *John* 3:5.

[51] Cf. *I Cor.* 6:9-12. Cf. J. Steinmueller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies,* III (New York, 1946), 23 f.

[52] Cf. *Apol.* 1, 61-63 (*MPG,* VI, 419 ff.; *De praescriptione haereticorum,* (*MPL,* XL; *MPL,* II, 54).

[53] Cf. *I Cor.* 10:20-22. On communion with demons, see E. B. Allo, *Première épitre aux Corinthiens* (Paris, 1934), p. 249.

[54] Cf. *I Cor.* 11:23-27. Catholic authorities are not in agreement as to whether St. Paul received this knowledge directly or indirectly from Christ. For the views of these scholars, see J. W. Moran in *Thought,* XI (1936), 183.

[55] Cf. *Apol.* 1, 66 (*MPG,* VI, 428).

Omophagy, it is true, bears a specious resemblance to the Christian Communion service. However, this should be noted. The devotees did not claim to be eating a god. *After* being filled with frenzy, they ate the raw flesh. *L'omaphagie en est le signe* [of communion with God], *non le moyen.*[56]

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[56] A. J. Festugière in *Revue Biblique,* XLIV (1935), 196, 373. For a more complete study of the subject of this article and for detailed bibliography, see F. Prat, *La théologie de Saint Paul,* II, 18th ed. (Paris, 1933), 467-76. Among non-Catholic scholars who attack Loisy and Reitzenstein may be mentioned J. Gresham Machen, *The Origin of St. Paul's Religion* (New York, 1921), 270-91. The author, though sound on the subject in question, denies the Catholic doctrine of the efficacy of the sacraments. Wilfrid L. Knox in *The Harvard Theological Review,* XLI (1948), 229-50, while not writing specifically on St. Paul and the mystery religions, shows that the Apostle did not borrow his Christology from paganism.

BISHOP SPALDING ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN AMERICA

And yet Catholics are to be ruthlessly denounced as the allies of foreign despots, as the foes of freedom! When was it known, that a Catholic ever persecuted a Protestant in this country? When was it known, that a Catholic mob ever burned Protestant schools, burned Protestant churches, attacked, at the dead hour of night, defenseless Protestant females, and drove them out from their burning dwellings, amidst hisses and hootings and unmanly revilings? When were Catholics known to burn precious libraries to the ground, or to invade the holy sanctuaries of the dead, in order to satiate their avarice with the ornaments which filial, parental, or conjugal piety, had carefully placed around the last sad abode of the dear departed? When were they known to riot, with fiendish delight and exultation, amidst the ruins which their own fury had strewn around them, and to add insult to injury, calumny to outrages on persons and property? Yes, it must be avowed, our bitterest enemies must avow it, that Catholics have done none of all these things, and that in these things, as well as in many others, the glory and the *burning* shame, are all on the side of their enemies!

—Bishop Martin John Spalding, "The Philadelphia Riots," in his *Miscellanea* (Baltimore: John Murphy and Co., 1866), II, 603.

THEODOSIUS' CHURCH LAWS

Interesting as an indication of the attitude of the Roman Empire, newly Christian, toward the Church and toward its members is the collection of laws regarding the Church, its personnel, heretics, and other matters pertaining to the new religion of the Empire to be found in the sixteenth book of the Code of Theodosius.[1] The first three of the titles of this book are: *De Fide Catholica; De Episcopis, Ecclesiis et Clericis; De Monachis.*

Favor to Christianity is apparent in many of the laws found in this collection. Thus, the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius decreed that those persons who either confused the holiness of divine law by lack of knowledge thereof or violated it through negligence were guilty of sacrilege.[2]

The same Emperors, in an Edict to the people of Constantinople, expressed their will that all people subject to their empire belong to that religion which Peter the Apostle gave to the Romans and which was still followed by the Pontiff Damasus and Peter the Bishop of Alexandria. They went on to explain that this religion believed in the three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as one Deity. They commanded that the name of Christian Catholics be embraced, and that all other persons be considered as insane followers of heretical dogma, whose assemblies were not even to be called "churches." They threatened to proceed against these latter and to punish them.[3]

To the Proconsul of Asia these same Emperors wrote instructing him to turn over to the bishops all the churches there. Taking the buildings from the Arians he was to deliver them to the bishops who were in communion with the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, Laodicea, Tarsus, Iconium, Antioch, Caesarea, Melitus, Nyssa, Scythia and Marcianopolis. Those who were in communion

[1] Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis . . . cum apparatu P. Kruegeri;* P. Krueger, *Codex Theodosianus;* G. Haenel, *Codices Gregorianus, Hermogenianus, Theodosianus.* This Code, the official collection of the emperor Theodosius II, was published in 438 A.D., cf. M. Radin, Handbook of Roman Law, p. 87.

[2] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.25 (Feb. 27, 380).

[3] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.1.2 (Feb. 27, 380).

with the approved bishops, who made up this visible organization, were to be put into possession of the churches. Those who were not so in communion were to be expelled from those churches as manifest heretics, nor were they, in the future, ever to be allowed to obtain a bishopric in those churches, that the priesthood of the true and Nicene faith might remain pure, and that no astuteness might escape the clear provision of the Emperors' command.[4]

Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius granted the right of assembly to those who agreed with what had been decided at the time of Constantine the Great, when bishops were gathered from the entire Roman world, and the faith was set forth. These persons were to have freedom to assemble. Others, who thought that they alone had a right of assembly, were warned that if they disturbed the peace of the Empire they would be considered guilty of sedition and liable to capital punishment. Even if they tried surreptitiously to evade the command of the Emperors they would still be guilty of sedition.[5]

Arcadius and Honorius reminded the Vicar of Africa that whatever had been decreed by their ancestors at various times was to remain inviolate and uncorrupted in regard to the churches. Nothing was to be changed as regards the privileges of the churches, which were rather to be protected, for they wished rather to add to reverence in their day than to change anything which had once been granted.[6]

To the Pretorian Prefect the same Emperors repeated that they did not want to add anything, but merely to confirm the privileges already granted. They did, however, forbid anyone to destroy such privileges on penalty even of banishment.[7] In fact, if anyone sacrilegiously attacked a church and harmed the bishops, priests, or their ministers, or in any way disturbed the religious services, the matter was to be brought to the attention of the authorities, so that they might know who was guilty. If it was the work of a mob, so that not all but only a few could be recognized, the names of their companions were to be discovered from confession of these few. The provincial governor was not to wait for a complaint from the bishops and ministers of the Catholic church, for they, the Emperors suspected, were more liable to forgive and say nothing.

[4] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.1.3 (July 30, 381).
[5] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.1.4 (Jan. 23, 386).
[6] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.29 (Mar. 23, 395).
[7] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.30 (Jan. 31, 397).

Such attacks were, indeed, to be considered a "public crime," subject to popular complaint so that any citizen should feel not only free but honored to file a complaint and to see to it that such criminals were punished. In the event that the mob was able to resist the civil authorities with arms, authorization was given to call upon the Count of Africa for assistance so that the guilty persons might not escape punishment.[8]

To the Vicar of Africa these Emperors gave the directive that if the privileges of any venerable church were violated rashly or neglected cleverly the fault was to be punished by a fine of five gold *librae*, as had previously been decreed. If the heretics did anything against the churches or the clergy surreptitiously, or if they obtained any concessions contrary to the laws, such concessions were set aside and nullified.[9]

Honorius and Theodosius clarified the privileges which had been accorded to the churches in the various cities. First of all, lands dedicated to religious uses were not to be disturbed for the performance of the *munera sordida*, the "base services." They were to be under no obligation to maintain the highways. Nothing extraordinary was to be demanded of them. They were not to be required to rebuild bridges. They were not to have the duty of transport. They were not to be subject to demands for gold or other things. Finally, nothing beyond the canonical impost required for immediate response to accidental needs was to be imposed. Anyone who violated this law was to be treated as guilty of sacrilege, and exiled in *perpetuum*.[10]

Theodosius and Valentinian confirmed once again the privileges accorded to the churches and to the clergy, threatening the punishments for sacrilege against those who violated them.[11]

Constantius and Julian confirmed the privileges granted to the church in Rome and to its clergy.[12] Honorius and Theodosius lauded Constantinople, "which enjoys the prerogatives of the Old

[8] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.31 (Apr. 25, 398 or Jan. 13, 409).

[9] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.34 (June 25, 399).

[10] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.40 (May 25, 412).

[11] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.46 (July 6 or Aug. 4, 425) and *C.Th.* 16.2.47 (Oct. 8 or Aug. 6, 425).

[12] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.13 (Nov. 10, 357).

Rome," and brought ecclesiastical matters in the province of Illyrium under the jurisdiction of the bishop of that city.[13]

From the beginning it appears that the converted Emperors were solicitous about protecting their Christian subjects from any attempts to coerce them to take part in pagan religious rites. Constantine provided that anyone who constrained Christians, ecclesiastics or lay persons, to take part in the periodic sacrifices of the pagans should be whipped or fined.[14]

Valentinian and Valens, writing to Symmachus, the Prefect of Rome, threatened dire punishments to any judge or bailiff who constrained Christians to serve in pagan temples.[15]

The favor of the Emperors toward the Church was also expressed in the exemptions which were granted to the clergy. Many decrees granting such exemptions were given. In their variety they betray the difficulties which an empire suffering from a shortage of manpower and of revenues and tending ever more to a solidification of the strata of society felt in accepting the independence of the Church and of its ministers.

Constantine, noting that certain heretics had created difficulties for the clergy by demanding that they perform certain civic duties from which they were supposed to be free according to the privileges granted to them, as they had been to the pagan priests who previously constituted the official clergy of the Empire, ordered that they be set free from those duties and that some other person be substituted in their place to perform the services. For the future they were to be free from any compulsion to perform them.[16]

Later he repeated the same concession, saying that those who devote their services to divine worship should be free from all the duties which citizens ordinarily might be required to perform. As the interpretation in the *Breviarium Alaricianum* puts it, clerics should not be made collectors of taxes, but should be free from

[13] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.45 (July 14, 421).

[14] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.5 (May 25, 323).

[15] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.1.1 (Nov. 17, 365).

[16] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.1 [Oct. 31, 313 (?)]. This law appears also in the Barbarian Code of Alaric, King of the Visigoths, the *Breviarium Alaricianum.*

every civil function, i.e. from every office and service of civil nature and serve the Church alone.[17]

Apparently men were quick to realize that entry into the ranks of the clergy afforded a possibility of escaping the usual burdens incident to citizenship. If they were entitled to the privileges of the clergy and exempt from the duty of performing certain public services at their own expense, which was, after all, another form of taxation, these men could manage to retain for their own private uses a considerable portion of their wealth. Instead of being held to their hereditary position in society, and to the burdens of their rank, they could escape to the clergy and be freed from both their static condition and its burdens.

Constantine, therefore, soon decreed that no one who by rank was supposed to perform civic duties or who possessed enough wealth to undertake public services could escape to the status of cleric. Only if a cleric should die could another be chosen in his place. Even in that case only a poor man, who was not bound to undertake public services could be chosen to replace the deceased cleric. Those, however, who had joined the clergy prior to the publication of the law were to remain undisturbed. Those who had become clerics after the publication of the law were, on the other hand, to be removed from that status and restored to the *curia* and to their *ordo* (civil) and were to perform their civic duties.[18]

The year after the Council of Nicea he repeated his order that men were not to be allowed readily to enter the clerical state. Only when a cleric died could another be chosen to take his place. The person so chosen was to be one who was not of a social condition which required him to perform public services and who was not sufficiently wealthy to undertake them. In case of doubt whether

[17] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.2 (Oct. 21, 319). This law, with the *interpretatio* appears in the *Breviarium,* 16.1.1. Compare with this, Canon 121 of the Code of Canon Law: *Clerici omnes a servitio militari, a muneribus et publicis civilibus officiis a statu clericali alienis immunes sint.*

[18] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.3 (July 18, 320). This is another indication of the fixing of the strata of society in the Roman empire with a restriction on ease of passage from one social condition to another. Escape from the rigidity of social classifications with their attendant burdens was possible through the Army and through the Church, but escape through the latter was reduced, through this legislation, to occasions when one already in the clergy died, leaving a place into which one could move.

a man should belong to civil society or to the clergy, he should be taken from the clergy and assigned to civil society if his social condition or his wealth required, in equity, that he perform public duties. The wealthy, he remarked, ought to bear the burdens of the world while the poor are sustained by the riches of the Church.[19]

Still, he continued to defend the privileges of the clergy against the attacks of the heretics who in some places had succeeded in burdening the Catholic clergy with civil offices. Thus, he ordered the authorities of the province of Numidia to restore the immunities of the clergy which had there been infringed, and to treat them on a par with the clergy of the Orient.[20]

Constantius continued the policy of his father. He confirmed the immunities which had been granted to the clergy and extended them. He released the clergy from the burden of providing shelter and granted them the further privilege of engaging in business if they wished, to support themselves.[21] He wished their sons to continue in the Church if they were not bound to perform civic duties.[22]

Constantius and Constans summarized and repeated these concessions. In order that the meetings in church might be well attended the Emperors released the clergy and the youth from "base services." They were not to be subject to the taxes on businessmen, for the revenues which they acquired from the hospices which they ran were for the benefit of the poor. They were likewise released from the duty of providing animals and vehicles on by-ways. The concession was extended to their families and servants, male and female.[23]

The bishops and clergy of the Catholic Church, they repeated, were not to be called to civic duties, for they possessed nothing and had no patrimony to be so used. Since people still insisted that they should perform such duties the emperors ordered that their privilege be respected. Furthermore, they commanded that the sons of

[19] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.6 (June 1, 326).

[20] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.7 (Feb. 5, 330).

[21] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.8 (Aug. 27, 343).

[22] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.9 (Apr. 11, 349).

[23] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.10 [May 26, 353 (320?)]. The "base services" included furnishing animals, vehicles, lodging for the *cursus publicus*, the public post, and, in Egypt, labor on the dikes. It was a tax to be paid by personal labor by certain classes in the empire, in addition to the usual taxes in money or in kind.

clergymen who were not fitted for such services, though they were of age, should not be disturbed.[24]

Constantius and Julian continued the grant whereby the clergy were exempt from rendering the "base services." They further provided that clergymen were not to be included in the number of those required to pay the tax on businessmen. If they had gained anything by careful saving or by providing assistance or by business they were to use it in assisting the poor and the needy. Thus, whatever they acquired by the operation of a hospice or a tavern was to be considered as something earned for religious purposes.[25]

The Emperors were, however, bothered by the escape of certain persons, who would otherwise be paying taxes to the State, into the clergy. They, therefore, decreed that the immunity should continue if the clerics had but little revenue and simply provided for their own food and clothing. Others, whose names were on the list of businessmen at the time when the levy was made, were to pay the taxes of businessmen, for it was thereafter that they had joined the clergy. As for clerics who possessed lands, they were not to be free from burdens, but were to pay taxes on their possessions. All clerics who had possessions were to pay the provincial levies. The emperors were especially confirmed in this opinion by the fact that bishops from Italy, Spain and Africa had agreed that it was quite just that aside from what was due to the Church, clerics should be bound to bear all usual burdens.[26]

The restrictions upon entry into the clergy by wealthy lay persons were continued by Valentinian and Valens.[27] They also restricted the entry of men of curial rank into the clergy. Those who had been in the clergy for ten years were not to be disturbed, but one who was recalled by the government within the ten-year period had to leave the clerical state and, with his property, undertake civic duties.[28]

Valentinian, Valens and Gratian left undisturbed in their privileges those who had been members of the clergy before the begin-

[24] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.11 [Feb. 26, 354 (342?)].
[25] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.14 [Dec. (?) 6, 357].
[26] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.15 [June 30, 360 (359?)].
[27] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.17 (Sept. 10, 364).
[28] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.19 (Oct. 17, 370).

ning of their reign, but recalled to civic duties those who had entered the clerical state thereafter.[29] Those who were left as members of the clergy were all freed from any obligation to render personal services.[30]

Arcadius and Honorius decreed that if a bishop felt that he lacked clerics he should ordain rather monks than those who were liable to public and private duties.[31] In fact, they further forbade ordinations of persons from one locality for service in the churches of another locality. They required that a definite number of clerics, to be determined by the bishop, should be ordained in accordance with the size of the churches in each locality.[32] The same Emperors continued the exemption of the clergy from taxation and from public services, even if they were in business, within the limits allowed by law, of course.[33]

Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius not only continued the privileges and exemptions of the clergy, authorizing their protectors to bring those exemptions to the attention of the judges, but also suggested that the clerics out in the province, beyond the limits of the metropolitan city, should see to it that their immunities were respected.[34]

Apparently, then, the Emperors were quite willing to show favor to the new official religion of the empire and to its personnel. They were, however, faced with the difficulty of planning the entire life of their totalitarian state. Given the conditions of society in which they lived they could find no better solution than to limit recruitment of the personnel of the Church to the poorer classes and, possibly, to "second sons," who would not have to undertake the burdens of civil offices.

While the Church was thus limited, in that it could not receive everyone who desired to become a member of its clergy, it sym-

[29] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.21 (May 17, 371).

[30] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.24 (Mar. 6, 377). Cf. also *C.Th.* 16.2.26 (Mar. 31, 381).

[31] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.32 [July 26, 398 (?)].

[32] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.33 (July 27, 398). Consider the "patronal church" and the restrictions on movement in the Middle Ages. Cf. also Canons 956, on *Episcopus proprius* for ordination, and 969, §1, on not ordaining one who is not necessary or useful for the churches of the diocese.

[33] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.36 (July 14, 401).

[34] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.38 (Nov. 15, 407).

pathized with the empire in its dilemma. If the Church did not get all the capable men it might have, it was, on the other hand, freed from the influx of those who sought to become members of the clergy only to escape the burdens of civic life. The Church, then, along with the other restrictions which it placed on entrance into the clergy, early added to the list that whereby those who were still liable to the performance of civic duties could not become members of the clergy. This restriction is mentioned by Pope Gelasius[35] and by Pope Gregory[36] and by several others.[37]

Pope Gregory mentions precisely that these men assumed the clerical garb or entered monasteries to escape from the dangers of civil suits, i.e. of the accountings which they would have had to give in court. He commands that they be not hastily received because, though they wear ecclesiastical garb, their life is not different from what it was before. They have tried, he says, not to leave the world, but merely to change it. If, therefore, they try to enter a monastery they are not to be received until they have first been freed from their public duties.

Honorius and Theodosius recognized what is now called the *privilegium fori*[38] for all clerics.[39] They provided that clerics should be summoned to answer suits only before bishops. Consequently, if a bishop or a priest, deacon, or any one of the minor ministers of the Christian law were accused before the bishops, for it was not proper that they be accused elsewhere, whether the accuser was a man of high estate or not, the accusation had to be proved by witnesses or documentary evidence. If the accuser failed in his proof he was to be declared *infamis,*[40] losing his own reputation, for he ought to learn by loss of his own good name that he should not, at least in the future, try to attack unhurt the good name of another.

[35] Cf. c. 59, D. L (494), and c. 1, D. LV (494).

[36] Cf. c. 1, D. LIII (598).

[37] Cf. c. 3, D. LIV: *procuratores, actores, et executores, seu curatores pupillorum . . . post deposita universa et reddita ratiocinia . . . si enim ante libertatem negociorum uel officiorum ab aliquo, sine consideratione fuerint ordinati, ecclesia infamatur.* This canon is taken from the First Council of Carthage, c. 8, held in 345 or 348. Cf. also Canon 121, *supra,* n. 17.

[38] Cf. Canon 120.

[39] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.41 (Dec. 11, 412).

[40] Cf. Canons 2293 - 2295 for an example of how *infamia* affects canonical rights.

Just as the bishops, priests, deacons, and other ministers, if his charges were proved, would be removed from the Church as unworthy, it was fitting that he, failing in his proof, be thereafter despised and of such low estate that he should not have an action for defamation of character. Consequently, only bishops should hear these charges and decide them on the testimony of many witnesses.

Constantius and Constans had forbidden that bishops be brought to trial in civil courts. They were to be tried, in the event of charges being raised against them, before a court composed of other bishops. There a fitting and convenient hearing on all charges was to be granted. The interpretation in the *Breviarium* explained that it was particularly forbidden that anyone dare to accuse a bishop before a lay tribunal. The complaining party was to bring the matter without delay to be heard by other bishops, whatever he might think his rights were, so that sentence might be given against the bishop by the decision of other bishops.[41]

Valens, Gratian and Valentinian decreed that the custom in civil trials should be observed also in ecclesiastical matters. Thus, if disputes or slight offenses should arise in relation to religious observance, they were to be decided in the localities where they had arisen by the diocesan synod. If, however, there was a criminal action involved, which belonged to the ordinary or extraordinary judges, it was to be left to these judges. The interpretation in the *Breviarium* adds that whenever, in a matter pertaining to religion, a question arose between clerics, the priests were to be summoned to a diocesan synod to decide the case. If a criminal case arose, it was to be referred to the judge in the city, that by his sentence might be punished whatever was proved to have been criminally done.[42]

Arcadius and Honorius also undertook to apply a penal sanction against any man who attempted to intrude himself into a bishopric. If he was found to have planned anything against the public peace and to be attempting again to obtain the position from which he had

[41] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.12 (Sept. 23, 355). This law appears in the *Breviarium* with the *interpretatio*, 16.1.2.

[42] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.23 (May 17, 376). This law appears in the *Breviarium* with the *interpretatio*, 16.1.3. Compare Watson v. Jones (1871) 80 U.S. (13 Wall.) 679, 20 L. Ed. 666.

been expelled he was to be sent a hundred miles from that city. Furthermore, he was not to be allowed to seek any favors from the emperors.[43]

These emperors also decreed that if any cleric was judged by his bishop unworthy of that office and was removed from the ecclesiastical ministry, or if he left of his own free will, he was to be delivered immediately to the government. He was not to be free to return to the Church, but was to be placed in his proper *ordo* or in the *collegium* of the city, in accordance with the kind and amount of his wealth. He was then bound to perform such public services as lay within his abilities. If the curial officials illicitly connived with such a man and did not put him in his proper place the first ten were to be fined two *librae* in gold, which was to go to the imperial treasury. Furthermore, entry to all military offices was closed to such wrong-doers.[44]

The interpretation of this law in the *Breviarium* explains that any cleric who has been found by his bishop to be living a bad life and who has been degraded[45] because of the depravity of his morals, or who has left the clerical profession of his own free will, is to be listed at once by the judge among the members of the *curia*. If he is adapted to the service by family background and by wealth he is to be compelled to perform his duties as a member of the *curia*. If, on the other hand, he is a person of very low estate this law requires that he be numbered among the *collegiati* and that he serve publicly at whatever he is fitted to do. These persons are not to be excused from the *curia* by any collusion. If this should happen, the members of the *curia* must pay in gold to the treasury for each person.

Trouble had broken out in Rome about 404 A.D. and several clerics found themselves in jail while the authorities investigated the fire which had been started. Arcadius and Honorius ordered the Prefect of the City to release them from jail and put them on ships so that they might go home. If anyone received these foreign bishops and clerics and if there were any more tumultuous gather-

[43] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.35 [Feb. 4, 400 (405)]. This law appears in the *Breviarium*, 16.1.4, with the notation: *Haec lex interpretatione non indiget.*

[44] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.39 (Nov. 27, 408). This law appears in the *Breviarium* with the *interpretatio*, 16.1.5.

[45] Cf. Canons 2305; 2314, §1, 3°; 2343, §1, 3°; 2354, §2; 2368, §1; 2388, §1.

ings, such a person was to be proscribed. To avoid any occasion for sedition they willed that all the foreign bishops and clerics be driven from the City.[46]

Further illustrative of the stratification of society which was taking place in the empire is the decree of Honorius and Theodosius concerning the *parabalani,* who took care of the sick. Allowing but five hundred of these in the city of Alexandria, and forbidding others to be named except to replace those who had died, they placed them under the supervision of the bishop of that city.[47] How difficult it was to plan medical care for the public even in that day is indicated by the authorization to the bishop to increase the number to six hundred less than two years later.[48]

Constantine allowed wills to be made in favor of the Church. He granted to everyone permission to leave at death whatever property he wished to the most holy and venerable assembly of the Catholic Church. There was nothing, he said, which was more due to men than that they have freedom as to their last will, after which they could will nothing more, and that their choice be free.[49]

This general concession was, however, restricted by Valentinian, Valens and Gratian. They forbade ecclesiastics or their children or those who had taken the title of "continent" to go to the homes of widows or young women. If they did so they were to be banished by public judgment, if thereafter the relatives of these women demanded it. The emperors further ordered that the aforesaid men should receive nothing from those women to whom they had attached themselves privately under the pretense of religion. They could not even take under a last will, which was to be entirely void as to whatever was left to them by those women. They could not even take through another person by gift or by will. If, after this decree, any of those women attempted to leave anything to those men, it was to be escheat to the treasury. If, however, the ecclesiastics or the "continent" received anything by will from women from

[46] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.37 (Aug. 29, 404).
[47] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.42 (Sept. 29, 416).
[48] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.43 (Feb. 3, 418).
[49] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.4 (July 3, 321). Cf. also Canon 1513.

whom they were entitled to take by intestate succession this they could hold in their capacity as relatives.[50]

Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius legislated also with regard to "deaconesses." They decreed that no woman who had children at home, unless she was sixty years old, according to the command of the apostle[51] could be admitted to the group of deaconesses. Then, when her children had been turned over to a guardian, if their age required this, she was to turn over her property to capable persons to be administered religiously. She was to have only the income from her lands. She was given full power to keep, alienate, give, withdraw, and leave her property. She was to use up none of her jewels or furniture, her gold or silver or other worthwhile things of the house. All of this was to go whole and entire to her children or near relatives or to whomsoever she might choose. When she died she was to make no church, no cleric, and no poor person her heir. If anything was left to the persons specially named the bequest or devise was to be null and void. If anything was extorted from her at her death by these people, not even a tacit trust was to be allowed to the clerics in fraud of this sanction by the clever tricks or the shameful connivance of anyone. They were to be completely excluded from the property after which they had yearned.

If anything was found to have been left in writing by letter, codicil, gift, or will of any kind in favor of those who were excluded by this sanction, it was not even to be produced in court. The succession was to pass as intestate to the one who recognized himself as competent to take thus, whether a son, or one who could prove himself a near relative, or one who by chance or by decision was found to be a beneficiary, either in whole or in part, or a trustee.

The emperors went on to decree that women who cut off their hair contrary to the laws of God and man under the impulse of the persuaded profession were to be excluded from church. It was not to be allowed to them to attend the sacred mysteries or to ap-

[50] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.20 (July 30, 370). Cf. also *Tit.* 1:11. Cf. also 2 L. C. Eq. 597, n; Thompson v. Hawks, 14 Fed. 905; Marx v. McGlynn, 88 N. Y. 371; D. C. Code §19-202.

[51] Cf. *I Tim.* 5:9.

proach the venerable altars with any prayers. If a bishop permitted a woman shorn to enter he would lose his position.[52]

Within two months, however, this law was changed.[53] The ladies were declared free to dispose of their property as they chose when they became deaconesses.

Honorius and Theodosius also decreed that it was not proper for those who were in the priesthood or the clergy to associate with women. Only their mothers, daughters, or sisters were to be kept within their houses, for as to these the natural bond forbade any shameful suspicion to arise. They were likewise not to abandon those women to whom they had been legitimately married before they were ordained priests, for those women were not improperly joined to the clergy who by their manner of life had made their husbands worthy of the priesthood.

The interpretation in the *Breviarium* explains that whoever have the office of the clergy are forbidden to enjoy the familiarity of strange women. They may have the consolation only of their mothers, sisters, or daughters, within their houses, because nothing shameful can occur or be thought of with regard to such persons under the law of nature. Those women, however, are to be retained for their consolation to whom they were joined in marriage before they received the office of cleric.[54]

This law was an application of what had already been decreed in the First Council of Nicea, can. 3. There it was said: the holy synod has entirely forbidden that it be permitted to any bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, or anyone at all who is in the clergy to have a woman in his house, unless perhaps either his mother, or sister, or aunt, or those proper persons who are above suspicion.[55]

Not even the monks who had abandoned the world escaped the attention of the Emperor. Thus Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius decreed that whoever were found under the name of "monk" were to dwell in desert places and in the vast solitudes.[56] Two years

[52] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.27 (June 21, 390). Cf. also Canons 569, 580-583.

[53] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.28 (Aug. 23, 390). Cf. also *C.Th.* 16.2.22 (Dec. 1, 372).

[54] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.2.44 (May 8, 420). This law appears in the *Breviarium* with the *interpretatio*, 16.1.6.

[55] Cf. c. 16, D. XXXII, and Canon 133.

[56] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.3.1 (Sept. 2, 390).

later they graciously allowed those same monks free entrance to the towns once more.[57]

Christian the Emperors were and Christian they meant to be, but they could not seem to shake off the influence of the centuries-old tradition whereby they were heads not only of the civil affairs of the State but also of the religious. Thus they continually interfered with matters which were more properly within the sphere of action of the Church. This latter, however, realizing the difficulties with which civil society was faced, and being disposed always to help as much as it could, did not immediately press all the claims it could have made. Rather, it waited patiently for the situation to ease so that it might go on with its work of preaching the Gospel, realizing that that which is deferred is not necessarily taken away entirely. When later, in the Middle Ages, conditions were different the Church could and did act somewhat more independently, though always with due regard for the difficulties in which the State found itself even then.

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[57] Cf. *C.Th.* 16.3.2 (Apr. 17, 392).

CHARITY AND CATHOLIC MISSIONS

There is no need to insist how foreign it is to the virtue of charity, which embraces both God and men, for the members of Christ's Church not to think of those unfortunate souls who live in error outside the Fold. Surely the obligation of charity, which binds us to God, demands not only that we strive to increase by every means within our power the number of those who adore Him "in spirit and in truth" but also that we try to bring under the rule of the gentle Christ as many other men as possible in order that "the profit in his blood" may be the more and more fruitful and that we may make ourselves the more acceptable to Him to Whom nothing can possibly be more pleasing than that "men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth."

—Pope Pius XI, Encyclical Letter *Rerum ecclesiae*, Feb. 28, 1926 (*The Encyclicals of Pius XI* [St. Louis and London: B. Herder Book Co., 1927], pp. 161 f.).

WE OWE IT TO OUR NUNS

Part II

Two voices speak in the confessional.

After a stylized beginning the first voice plunges into the most personalized, individual speech that a human being is capable of making: the confession of shameful and self-accusing sins. The second voice is something different; it is given an option. It may lapse into stylized speech, falling into formula: "For your penance you will say. . . . *Misereatur*. . . ." Or that important second voice may touch the personal sins with personalized speech, meet the individual need with individual words.

Too often the personal confession is met with formal response.

Too frequently the nun who has hoped that this time she will hear something that regards her as an individual is met with treatment accorded the most general of sinners. For her disturbing sins she receives an abstracted absolution. For her discouragement she is given a formula. For the aspirations of her soul toward the love of God she is granted the remission of her trifling faults.

That can be most discouraging to the nun—as it can be a real failure on the part of the priest in his use of his opportunities.

I am not here digressing—if it could be called a digression—into the question of how much the priest should know about the canon law governing the obligations of women religious. Much has been written on that; a man assigned to the task of hearing the confessions of nuns will meet questions that he cannot push aside with some platitude from general laws of goodness or evil. You cannot solve a problem of the vow of poverty with reference merely to the seventh commandment. The obligation to obey or to appeal from the stupid or unlawful command of an irascible superior is not to be solved by reference to the fourth commandment or an appeal to the victim's patience: "God will take care of you if you yield even to her unjust stupidity." The question has been begged. Must she yield? How far must she obey a command that the superior has no right to give?

Needless to say, a confessor who has a sense of his duty will look up the answer to a difficulty of this kind. He has the books.

He can get advice. He will simply say, out of his expert knowledge (gained when he was assigned to take over the functions of confessor to nuns) that this or that is her obligation; this is permitted; that becomes a violation. She will be in no sense surprised, contemptuous of his ignorance, or impatient if he says, "Frankly, I do not know the answer. I am asking you to present your problem to me again next time; in the interval I shall try to find out the answer for you."

It is not however these unusual situations or problems that a confessor of nuns is likely to muff. It is the regular week-after-week confession that he may handle badly. Confession is as much a cure for the habits of sin as it is a washing away of individual sins. Confession is meant to be both a consolation to the forgiven sinner and an inspiration to the aspiring saint.

Nothing else is more encouraging to the nun in confession than the sound of the priestly voice speaking to her and quite clearly speaking to reach her individual soul. Suddenly she ceases to be Sister Mary Joan, fifth in seniority and fifth to come into the confessional; she is a child of God to whom this minister of God is speaking out of his wisdom and his fatherly heart. Her head is likely to lift a little. She grows suddenly alert, almost sharply alert. This confession, which up to that moment has been much like last week's confession, takes a new and upward turn. A voice is reaching her, an interested, personal voice directed straight to her.

In a way what the priest says is quite secondary to the fact that he is saying it. She has spoken to him of the most personal fact of sin, feeling perhaps shame at her guilt—or more disturbingly wondering why she feels so little shame. The answer that comes to her is not a formula; it is a friendly voice speaking to her of God, her soul, the possibilities of her vocation, her daily life, the eternity ahead.

I have known successful confessors of nuns who each week took into the confessional a brief little talk that fitted all the nuns except some few with personal problems.

It was by way of being a small sermon directed, not to the vague, anonymous audience in the chapel or church, but to the tense and waiting soul, a Nicodemuslike audience of one, a holy

woman of Samaria listening to Christ's voice speaking to her and only to her.

Such an individual sermon can become a bit of a joke if it is so general and vague that it fits great sinners and great saints, a platter of platitudes served to all and sundry. Yet nuns would rather be addressed in platitudes than not addressed at all. Most of the confessors who have adopted this custom of the small talk after the nun's recital of sins are, I have noticed, sympathetic men, kindly men, men who take their responsibilities seriously but not grimly, men who know the value of the personal touch added to the professional service.

More than anything else a talk of this type should be an encouragement. Nuns are grateful people, and they know much too little of gratitude from others. They do their work splendidly, uncomplainingly. Often in my own secret heart I have wished that I did my priestly work with the gay devotion and love of God and of souls that characterize multitudes of nuns I have known. Yet we wait for their golden jubilees to tell them of their worth, to speak our gratitude, to encourage them to persistence in their work.

If the principle of the small sermon is adopted, I can think of unlimited lines of encouragement that would give nuns a new lift in their unquestionably laborious days:

(1) God must have loved you very much, else He would not have called you to His special service.

(2) Certainly the Church is grateful to you for the work you have undertaken for the kingdom of God.

(3) In time of discouragement, remember that you are really God's associate, the partner of Jesus Christ in the salvation of souls.

(4) If you find the children (or their parents) unappreciative, think how grateful God must be.

(5) You were so full of heroism and self-sacrifice when you came to give yourself to God; hold fast to that early desire to work for God, now that you have made the sacrifice.

(6) Never feel otherwise than successful; anything you try to do for God, no matter what the apparent success or failure, is never lost.

(7) Christ will never forget that when you heard Him say, "Come, follow me," you came immediately.

(8) Yours is the most heroic life in the world, but the happiest. You made the sacrifice; God will provide the happiness.

(9) Each day is the storing up in heaven of incalculable treasure for you. How rich you will grow with the years!

(10) Your life comes closest to the life of Mary. Ask her to give you the fullest possible joy in what you do.

If a priest happens to know that the nuns are engaged in a particular line of work, he can turn his little sermonette in that particular direction:

(1) Teaching is the most important work that Christ gave to His Church. "Going . . . teach ye all nations. . . ." Be glad that you are following Christ the teacher.

(2) You are walking with the divine physician. As He healed, so do you.

(3) Christ said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me." You say exactly the same thing, and you lead them direct to the Savior.

(4) How wonderful it is that these dear old people have someone like you to lead them through the dark valley straight to God.

(5) Christ loved Magdalen and protected the woman taken in adultery. He gave you the example for your life with these fallen women. Be grateful that you can act toward them as Christ did to Magdalen and the woman taken in adultery.

(6) What you are teaching these children today, they will use when they must fight the world, the flesh, and the devil.

(7) It's examination time, isn't it? Think less of that than of the wonder of Christ's permitting you to prepare your children for their final examination by God.

(8) You are the one who can carry Christ into the sickroom; the fate of souls rather than of bodies is in your hands.

(9) Surely you remember that Christ said, "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me." I could envy you your merit with God.

(10) Teaching (or caring for the orphans) is one of the hardest careers in the world. It is a daily cross. How wonderful that you bear your cross so gallantly!

(11) When you visit the poor, remember that Christ is at your side. When you knock or ring, it is Christ who says, "Behold, I stand at the gate and knock."

(12) You should be wonderfully happy in your life; it is glorious to be doing for souls the very thing that Jesus Christ came to earth to do.

The little personalized sermonette can well take its character from the feasts and the liturgical seasons. If it does, it should have the particular directive to make it fit the life of a nun:

(1) Christmas is never more like Bethlehem than in a convent chapel. You are the substitute for Mary; Christ will come to you with the joy He brought to His Mother on that first Christmas Day.

(2) Lent brings really little that is new to your penitential life. You fast and do penance all through the year. Remember then during Lent to walk with the rejected and suffering Christ. He will be very grateful.

(3) Are you lonely when the holiday season draws near? Do you worry a little or grow wistful for home? Don't! This is less the holiday time than the holy-day time. Because you gave up worldly holidays, Christ will make yours holy days and happy days indeed.

(4) How sweet is Easter to a nun! You are like Mary Magdalen; you have found Jesus in the garden of your life.

(5) The Magi could give only three gifts out of their riches; you have given the Infant Christ the three gifts that are your precious vows. These He accepts most gratefully.

(6) We are nearing the feast of the Annunciation, really the feast of the Incarnation. Christ came to Mary and Christ comes to you—and through you to the world—each day in Holy Communion.

(7) Mary in the Assumption was lifted from earth because she was too pure to know corruption. You have spurned earth by your vows; you can be confident of your glorious entrance into bliss each day as you keep your vows.

(8) You probably will never be canonized; few saints are. That is why we have the feast of All Saints. You are a saint in St. Paul's definition. Your feast is tomorrow, and it will be yours as long as earth exists.

(9) How happy we shall be when we wake up safely in purgatory! Don't fear purgatory; work for the souls there, and they in their day of bliss will take care of your soul.

(10) We enter the lovely time of Advent—the coming of Christ. For you each day is an Advent: Christ came this morning and you are grateful; He will come tomorrow, and you will welcome Him again.

In her deepest heart a nun is an aspiring person.

She has accepted the high challenge of sanctity and the pressing responsibilities of the vows.

So she needs our constant encouragement. It is almost a mistake to talk to her of sins when what she needs is encouragement to virtue. The little personalized talk can be a cycle of sermonettes on the virtues:

Why and how a nun can love God . . . how she is actually fulfilling the second great commandment, and how she can do this better . . . the value of her work . . . the offering of that work . . . charity and patience for those she works with . . . the preciousness of prayer . . . her natural humility and how it can be elevated to a supernatural life . . . the beauty of her purity.

Little applications of the life of Our Lord and of Mary's life to hers are inexhaustible in their possibilities. When a priest is a regular confessor, he should be able to plot out a series to cover the years.

Quite aside from the value of the context of the talks, the talking itself does something highly significant: The nun is assured that the priest is not rushing her. He has time to talk to her; so he must have at least a little time to listen to her if she wants to talk . . . or ask a question.

I feel too that at regular intervals a priest should, following his brief talk—or perhaps in place of it—turn to the penitent and say, "Is there any problem you would like to discuss, sister? . . . If ever in confession, sister, you would like to ask me anything, please don't hesitate."

Or the question can become quite personal: "Sister, how is your health? . . . I hope that you are getting sufficient sleep. . . . Sister, are you finding it pleasant to live with the sisters in your community? . . . Are things going well at home?"

Priests know that time and again spiritual problems are tied in with physical weariness or illness. If the nun senses that we realize this, that we are not unaware of the strenuous and exhausting life she leads, she knows too that we are aware of her problems and that we are thus a little more sympathetic to the small defects that mar her life. We can even use the occasion to point out how weariness and impatience go together, how an exhausted body may by contradiction express its weariness in a snapping tongue; how a sleepless night usually means badly said prayers; how indigestion and the day's bad disposition may be closely connected. The mere fact that the confessor indicates a knowledge of these contexts and connections is reassuring. The nun faces life with more trust in his guidance and less distrust of those spiritual failures of hers that are tied in with her physical problems.

The rule holds here much more than it does in the routine parish confessions. The penitent in the confessional is the only important one; others will soon take her place, but right now they are entirely secondary. If the confessor takes time with a parishioner, the others in the line may grow impatient; the big sinner may possibly decide not to wait; though that is not the confessor's fault, that possibility may influence him in the time he gives the penitent now in the parish confessional. But the nuns will not leave because the confessor gives time and guidance to the religious penitent now in the confessional. On the contrary the time he gives to one nun may be just the encouragement another nun needs to bring up a long-festering problem or to mention some scruple that has been troubling her conscience.

The confessor who wishes actually to guide the nuns to spiritual perfection will spend a little time on some of the corrective practices:

(1) He can discuss with them briefly and effectively their examination of conscience.

(2) He can refer to their morning offering and its value.

(3) He can suggest to them methods to improve their preparation for and thanksgiving after Holy Communion.

(4) He can even suggest practices that he himself has found valuable for meditation matter . . . or a book that has helped him in his own spiritual life.

From the individual confession he can spear a particular sin and pause on it. "Father," a nun might say, "I have been unkind to some of my sister companions."

It would be an intolerable mistake for the priest to use this sin as occasion for sternness. Indeed I wonder whether there are too many occasions on which sternness would be called for in the case of nuns. Only that nun so rare as to be negligible—stubborn, contumacious, or positively evil (when did I ever know such a nun?)—rates or could be improved by priestly denunciation. But her uncharity can become for us an occasion to explain to her her own life of love and its possibilities for spiritual growth.

"It is not easy to live constantly with the same people; it is a trial of tempers and patience. But when you do live harmoniously in your community, the dear Lord exclaims, 'See how they love one another!' The way to cure uncharity is deliberately to do some charitable act for the person who annoys us. We go out of our way to be kind . . . we are particularly cheerful . . . and our distaste turns to love . . . and to our own inner happiness."

"Father, I have been hard on the children."

"Who can blame you, sister? They are a great trial. But you are doing a wonderful thing, taking care of these children of others. Remember that. God is grateful for your labors. You are giving Him precious souls. What you do for them, you do for Him. Indeed you can see in each face the face of Christ. Think of the children as little Christs, His substitutes."

We take and use the faults they tell in confession as new reasons for courage and constructive approach to their vocations. Then they leave the confessional with new hope. Someone has been interested enough to take time to make helpful suggestions. Even when the suggestions are banal and trite, the interest is fresh and invigorating. We need, not eloquence and great wisdom, but concern for their difficult lives and an eagerness to recall to them the truths they already know.

When a nun has a real problem, it is a mistake to ignore it. Sometimes real sins or real habits of sin might be mentioned.

When the confessor passes over without comment a large or troublesome sin, any number of unfortunate things may happen.

The nun may be frightfully troubled, may wonder whether the confessor heard what she said and whether her absolution is valid.

She may be plunged into near despair, thinking that the confessor was too shocked, considered her too hopeless to waste his time or advice.

She may decide that the confessed sin was not really a sin at all. Had it been, the confessor would have paused to discuss it. Instead he treated it as a trifle; so maybe she should do the same.

She faces her sin, her habit of sin, with the hopelessness of not knowing what to do. She yearned for help; she got silence.

If the voice that speaks to the sinful penitent is gentle and sympathetic, the advice is welcome and the discussion of the sin may be a positive relief. The bare recital of the sin may have been far from satisfactory. The nun may want to discuss it more fully; it has so poisoned her soul that she needs someone to help her pull it out, examine the spiritual wound, tell her how to bind it up and cure it.

So it goes with this precious opportunity offered us through the confessions of nuns. Why should we allow ourselves to be slapdash and bored by the opportunities given us to help saints in the making? Why should we punish ourselves with badly-heard confessions when well-heard and constructively-heard confessions would be a joy to us and part of our priestly development?

Sisters are a great expression of the Church's sanctity. It is our precious privilege to lift the standard of that sanctity, to give joy to sometimes lonely and troubled hearts, to serve with our encouragement and guidance souls very dear to the Saviour, who called them to His house and His heart.

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THE ONE CHURCH

That the one Church should embrace all men everywhere and at all times was seen and foretold by Isaias, when looking into the future he saw the appearance of a mountain conspicuous by its all-surpassing altitude, which set forth the image of "the house of the Lord"—that is, of the Church. *And in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared on the top of the mountains.*

—Pope Leo XIII, Encyclical Letter *Satis cognitum*, June 20, 1896 (*The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII* [New York: Benziger Brothers, 1903], p. 356).

THE LOCAL CHURCH OF ROME

According to the divine constitution of Our Lord's kingdom on earth, membership in that kingdom, the universal Church militant, normally involves membership in some local or individual brotherhood within the universal Church. These individual brotherhoods within the Catholic Church are of two kinds. First there are the various local Churches, the associations of the faithful in the different individual regions of the earth. Then there are the *religiones,* assemblies of the faithful organized *unice et ex integro* for the attainment of perfection on the part of those who are admitted into them. According to the Apostolic Constitution *Provida mater ecclesia,* "the canonical discipline of the state of perfection as a public state was so wisely regulated by the Church that, in the case of clerical religious Institutes, in those matters in general which concern the clerical life of the religious, the Institutes took the place of dioceses, and membership in a religious society was equivalent to the incardination of a cleric in a diocese."[1]

Among these individual brotherhoods that live within the universal Church of God on earth, the local Church of Rome manifestly occupies a unique position. Theologians of an earlier day stressed these prerogatives of the Roman Church quite strongly. Unfortunately, however, in our own time the manuals of sacred theology, considered as a group, dwell almost exclusively upon the nature and the characteristics of the Church universal, without explaining the teaching about the local Church at any length. Consistently with this trend, they have chosen to teach about the Holy Father in relation to the Church throughout the entire world, and have given comparatively little attention to his function precisely as the head of the Christian Church in the Eternal City.

Thus we and the people whom God has commissioned us to instruct may be prone to forget that it is precisely by reason of the fact that he presides over this individual local congregation that the Holy Father is the successor of St. Peter and thus the visible head of the entire Church militant. The Christian com-

[1] The *Provida mater ecclesia* was issued on Feb. 2, 1947. The translation of this passage is that of Bouscaren in his *Canon Law Digest: Supplement through 1948* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1949), p. 66.

munity of Rome was and remains Peter's Church. The man who governs that community with apostolic power in the name of Christ is Peter's successor, and is thus Our Lord's vicar in the rule of the Church universal.

It is definitely the more common teaching among the scholastic theologians that the office of the visible head of the entire Church militant is inseparably attached to the position of the Bishop of Rome, and that this absolutely permanent attachment exists by reason of the divine constitution of the Church itself. In other words, an imposing majority of Catholic theologians who have written on this particular subject have manifested the belief that no human agency, not even the Holy Father himself, could render the primacy of jurisdiction over the Church universal the prerogative of some episcopal see other than that of Rome or otherwise separate that primacy from the office and the essential prerogatives of the Bishop of Rome. According to this widely accepted teaching, the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ on earth, could not possibly be other than the Bishop who presides over the local Christian community of the Eternal City.

During even its earliest stage of development, scholastic ecclesiology taught expressly that when St. Peter established himself as the head of the local Christian community in Rome, he was acting in accordance with God's own direction. Thus Alvaro Pelayo teaches that the Prince of the Apostles transferred his See from Antioch to Rome "iubente Domino," and that the location of the principal seat of the Christian priesthood in the "caput et domina totius mundi" was to be attributed to Divine Providence.[2] A century later, the Cardinal John de Turrecremata insisted that a special command of Christ had made Rome the primatial See of the Catholic Church.[3] Turrecremata argued that this action on the part of Our Lord made it impossible for even the Sovereign Pontiff himself to detach the primacy from Peter's own local Church in the Eternal City. Later Thomas de Vio Cardinal

[2] Cf. *De statu et planctu ecclesiae*, I, a. 40, in Iung, *Un Franciscain, théologien du pouvoir pontifical au XIV^e siècle: Alvaro Pelayo, Évêque et Pénitencier de Jean XXII* (Paris: Vrin, 1931), p. 111.

[3] Cf. *Summa de ecclesia*, II, c. 40 (Venice, 1561), p. 154^r.

Cajetan taught that St. Peter had established his See at Rome by Our Lord's express command.[4]

The counter-Reformation theologians took up this question in much greater detail. Dominic Soto sponsored the teaching, previously attacked by Turrecremata, to the effect that the fixing of the primatial See at Rome was attributable only to St. Peter, in his capacity as the head of the universal Church.[5] Thus Soto held that any one of St. Peter's successors in the Supreme Pontificate could, if he so chose, transfer the primatial See to some other city, in exactly the same way and with exactly the same authority St. Peter had used in bringing the primacy from Antioch to Rome.

Soto's solution of this question never obtained any considerable foothold in scholastic ecclesiology. His contemporary, the ever-truculent Melchoir Cano, derided the contention that, since there is no scriptural evidence in favor of any divine command that the primatial See should have been established in Rome, St. Peter's transfer from Antioch to Rome must be attributed only to St. Peter's own choice.[6] He employed the occasion of this teaching to bring out his own teaching on the importance of tradition as a source of revelation and as a *locus theologicus.*

The traditional thesis that Rome is and always will be the primatial See of the Catholic Church received its most important development in St. Robert Bellarmine's *Controversies.* St. Robert devoted the fourth chapter of the fourth book of his treatise *De Romano Pontifice* to the question *De Romana ecclesia particulari.* His main thesis in this chapter was the contention that not only the Roman Pontiff, but also the particular or local Church of the city of Rome, must be considered as incapable of error in matters of faith.[7]

In the course of this chapter St. Robert exposed as "a pious and most probable teaching" the opinion that "Peter's *cathedra*

[4] Cf. *Apologia de comparata auctoritate papae et concilii,* c. 13, in Pollet's edition of Cajetan's *Scripta theologica* (Rome: Angelicum, 1935), I, 299.

[5] Cf. *Commentaria in IV Sent.,* d. 24.

[6] Cf. *De locis theologicis,* Lib. VI, c. 8, in the *Opera theologica* (Rome: Filiziani, 1900), II, 44.

[7] Cf. *De controversiis christianae fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos* (Cologne, 1620), I, col. 811.

could not be taken away from Rome,"[8] and that, for this reason, the individual Roman Church must be considered as both infallible and indefectible. In support of this thesis which, incidentally, he considered as an opinion and not as entirely certain, St. Robert appealed to the doctrine that "God Himself has ordered Peter's Apostolic See to be fixed in Rome."[9]

St. Robert by no means closed the door entirely on the thesis of Dominic Soto. He admits the possibility that the divine mandate according to which St. Peter assumed command of the Church in Rome might have been merely a kind of "inspiration" from God, rather than a definite and express order issued by Our Lord Himself. Always insistent that his thesis was not a matter of divine faith, he repeated his contention that it was most probable and *pie credendum* "that the See has been established at Rome by divine and immutable precept."[10]

Gregory of Valentia, however, taught that Soto's opinion on this subject was *singularis nec vero satis tuta.*[11] Adam Tanner believed the thesis that "the supreme authority to govern the Church has been inseparably joined to the Roman See by direct and divine institution and law," though not a doctrine of faith, was still something which could not be denied *absque temeritate.*[12] In his *Tractatus de fide* Suarez taught that it seemed more probable and "pious" to say that St. Peter had joined the primacy over the entire Church militant to the See of Rome by reason of Our Lord's own precept and will. Suarez believed, however, that St. Peter received no such order from Christ prior to the Ascension.[13] The outstanding seventeenth century theologians, Francis Sylvius and John Wiggers also subscribed to the opinion that the primacy was permanently attached to the local Church of Rome by reason of Our Lord's own command.[14]

[8] Cf. *ibid.*, col. 812.

[9] *Ibid.*, col. 813.

[10] *Ibid.*, col. 814.

[11] Cf. Valentia's *Commentaria theologica* (Ingolstadt, 1603), III, col. 276.

[12] Cf. Tanner's *Theologia scholastica* (Ingolstadt, 1627), III, col. 240.

[13] Cf. Suarez' *Opus de triplici virtute theologica* (Lyons, 1621), p. 197.

[14] Cf. Sylvius' *De praecipuis fidei nostrae orthodoxae controversiis cum nostris haereticis*, Lib. IV, q. 1, a. 6, in D'Elbecque's edition of Sylvius' *Opera omnia* (Antwerp, 1698), V, 297; Wigger's *Commentaria de virtutibus theologicis* (Louvain, 1689), p. 63.

The status of this thesis was further improved when Pope Benedict XIV inserted it into his *De synodo diocesana.*[15] Pope Benedict believed that St. Peter had chosen the Roman Church either at Our Lord's command, or on his own authority, acting under divine inspiration or guidance. Billuart taught that Rome was chosen as a result of Our Lord's own direct instruction.[16] John Perrone taught that no human authority could transfer the primacy over the universal Church from the See of Rome.[17]

In more recent times interest in this particular thesis has centered around the question of the manner in which God had joined the primacy to the episcopate of the local Church of Rome. Some, like Dominic Palmieri, consider it probable that St. Peter received a divinely revealed mandate to establish his See permanently at Rome before he assumed the leadership of the local Church of the Eternal City.[18] Others, like Reginald Schultes, believe such an antecedent command most unlikely, but insist that an explicit divine mandate to this effect was probably given to St. Peter prior to his martyrdom.[19] Still others, like Cardinal Franzelin and Bishops Felder and D'Herbigny, give it as their opinion that St. Peter's final choice of Rome was brought about by a movement of divine grace or inspiration of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of any transfer of the primatial See from Rome at any subsequent time.[20] Cardinal Billot taught that Rome held its position *dispositione divina,* and that this thesis, though not yet defined,

[15] Cf. *De synodo diocesana,* Lib. II, c. 1, in Migne's *Theologiae cursus completus* (Paris, 1840), XXV, col. 825.

[16] Cf. Billuart's *Tractatus de regulis fidei,* diss. 4, a. 4, in the *Summa Sancti Thomae hodiernis academiarum moribus accommodata sive cursus theologiae juxta mentem Divi Thomae* (Paris: LeCoffre, 1904), V, 171 f.

[17] Cf. Perrone's *Tractatus de locis theologicis,* pars I, c. 2, in his *Praelectiones theologicae in compendium redactae* (Paris, 1861), I, 135.

[18] Cf. Palmieri's *Tractatus de Romano Pontifice cum prolegomeno de ecclesia* (Prado, 1891), pp. 416 ff.

[19] Cf. Schultes' *De ecclesia catholica praelectiones apologeticae* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1931), pp. 450 ff.

[20] Cf. Franzelin's *Theses de ecclesia Christi* (Rome, 1887), pp. 210 ff.; Felder's *Apologetica sive theologia fundamentalis* (Paderborn: Schoeningh, 1923), II, 120 f.; and D'Herbigny's *Theologia de ecclesia* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1927), II, 213 ff.

was unquestionably capable of definition.[21] It is interesting to note that Gerard Paris wrote that more probably the primacy over the universal Church was joined to the episcopate of Rome *iure divino, saltem indirecto.*[22] The possibility of such an indirect divine mandate has not been generally considered in the recent literature of scholastic ecclesiology.

An overwhelming majority of theologians since the Vatican Council has upheld the thesis that, in one way or another, the primacy is permanently attached to the local Church of Rome *iure divino.* Within this majority we find such outstanding ecclesiologists as Cardinal Camillus Mazzella, Bonal, Tepe, Crosta, De Groot, Hurter, Dorsch, Manzoni, Bainvel, Tanquerey, Hervé, Michelitsch, Van Noort, and Lercher.[23] Despite the preponderance of testimony in favor of this thesis, however, Saiz Ruiz and Calcagno reject the theological arguments usually adduced in its favor, while Dieckmann refers to the question as subject to con-

[21] Cf. Billot's *Tractatus de ecclesia Christi,* 5th edition (Rome: Gregorian University, 1927), I, 613 f.

[22] Cf. Paris' *Tractatus de ecclesia Christi* (Turin: Marietti, 1929), pp. 217 f.

[23] Cf. Card. Mazzella's *De religione et ecclesia praelectiones scholastico-dogmaticae,* 6th edition (Prado, 1905), pp. 731 ff.; Bonal's *Institutiones theologiae ad usum seminariorum,* 16th edition (Toulouse, 1887), I, 422 ff.; Tepe's *Institutiones theologicae in usum scholarum* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1894), I, 307 f.; Crosta's *Theologia dogmatica in usum scholarum,* 3rd edition (Gallarate: Lazzati, 1932), I, 309 ff.; De Groot's *Summa apologetica de ecclesia catholica,* 3rd edition (Regensburg, 1906), pp. 575 ff.; Hurter's *Theologiae dogmaticae compendium,* 2nd edition (Innsbruck, 1878), I, 332; Dorsch's *Institutiones theologiae fundamentalis,* 2nd edition (Innsbruck: Rauch, 1928), II, 229; Manzoni's *Compendium theologiae dogmaticae,* 4th edition (Turin: Berruti, 1928), I, 263; Bainvel's *De ecclesia Christi* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1925), p. 201; Tanquerey's *Synopsis theologiae dogmaticae fundamentalis,* 24th edition (Paris: Desclée, 1937), p. 492; Hervé's *Manuale theologiae dogmaticae,* 18th edition (Paris: Berche et Pagis, 1934), I, 401; Michelitsch's *Elementa apologeticae sive theologiae fundamentalis,* 3rd edition (Vienna: Styria, 1925), p. 378; Van Noort's *Tractatus de ecclesia Christi,* 5th edition (Hilversum, Holland: Brand, 1932), p. 188; and Lercher's *Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae,* 2nd edition (Innsbruck: Rauch, 1934), I, 378 ff.

troversy.[24] Granderath makes it evident that the Vatican Council had no intention of condemning Dominic Soto's teaching in its Constitution *Pastor aeternus*.[25]

As a consequence of this inseparable union of the primacy with the episcopate of Rome, scholastic theology points to the common Catholic teaching that the local Church of Rome, the faithful of the Eternal City presided over by their Bishop who is surrounded by his own priests and other clerics, as an infallible and indefectible institution. If, until the end of time, the man who is charged with the responsibility of presiding over the universal Church militant as Christ's vicar on earth is necessarily the head of the local Church in Rome, then it follows quite obviously that the local Church of the Eternal City must be destined by God to continue to live as long as the Church militant itself. A man could not be Bishop of Rome unless there were a definite Roman Church over which he could rule by divine authority.

The thesis on the indefectibility of the local Church of Rome has received rather considerable development in the literature of scholastic ecclesiology. Saiz Ruiz is of the opinion that, if the city of Rome were destroyed, it would be sufficient to have the Sovereign Pontiffs retain the title of Bishop of Rome "*sicut hodie episcopi in partibus.*"[26] The terminology of most of the other modern and classical theologians who have dealt wtih this question, however, involves a rejection of this contention. The bishops *in partibus infidelium*, properly called titular bishops since Pope Leo XIII decreed this change in terminology in his apostolic letter *In supremo*, of June 10, 1882, have no jurisdiction whatever over the Catholics of the locality where their ancient churches were situated. No man, according to the prevailing teaching of scholas-

[24] Cf. Saiz Ruiz, *Synthesis sive notae theologiae fundamentalis* (Burgos, 1906), pp. 430 ff.; Calcagno, *Theologia fundamentalis* (Naples: D'Auria, 1948), pp. 229 f.; and Dieckmann, *De ecclesia tractatus historico-dogmatici* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder, 1925), I, 437 f.

[25] Cf. Granderath, *Constitutiones dogmaticae sacrosancti oecumenici Concilii Vaticani ex ipsis eius actis explicatae atque illustratae* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder, 1892), pp. 137 ff. Although Soto's teaching has not been condemned, the doctrine according to which the primacy could be taken away from Rome by the action of a general council or of the populace as a whole was proscribed by Pius IX in his Syllabus of errors. Cf. *DB*. 1735.

[26] Cf. Saiz Ruiz, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

tic theology, could be the successor of St. Peter and thus the visible head of the universal Church militant unless he had particular episcopal authority over the Christians of the Eternal City.

Although some theologians, like Suarez and, in our own time Mazzella and Manzoni, hold it as probable that the material city of Rome will be protected by God's providence and will never be completely destroyed,[27] most of the others hold that this destruction is a possibility. They maintain, however, that the destruction of the buildings and even the complete uninhabitability of the city itself would in no way necessitate the destruction of the Roman local Church. Older writers like St. Robert Bellarmine were convinced that at one time the actual city of Rome was entirely without inhabitants, while the local Church, with its clergy and its bishop, continued to live.[28]

From time to time heretics have pointed to the seventeenth and the eighteenth chapters of the *Apocalypse* as indication that ultimately there would be no followers of Christ within the city of Rome. St. Robert admitted such a possibility at the end of the world, but pointed out the traditional interpretation of this section of the *Apocalypse*, particularly that popularized by St. Augustine, had nothing to do with the Roman Church during the period immediately preceding the general judgment.[29] Francis Sylvius demonstrated that any application of this section of the *Apocalypse* to the Roman Church was merely fanciful.[30] Modern theologians, Franzelin and Crosta in particular, have followed this procedure.[31]

Another highly important and sometimes overlooked prerogative of the local Roman Church is its infallibility. By reason of its peculiar place in the universal Church militant, this individual congregation has always been and will always be protected from corporate heresy by God's providential power. The local Church of Rome, with its bishop, its *presbyterium*, its clergy and its laity

[27] Cf. Suarez, *op. cit.*, p. 198; Mazzella, *op. cit.*, p. 738; Manzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

[28] Cf. St. Robert, *op. cit.*, col. 813.

[29] Cf. *ibid.*, col. 814 .

[30] Cf. Sylvius, *op. cit.*, q. 1, a. 4, conclusio 3, p. 291.

[31] Cf. Franzelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 f.; Crosta, *op. cit.*, p. 312, quotes Franzelin on this question. It is interesting to note that the doctrines of these scholastics coincide with the teachings of the exegete Allo on this subject. Cf. his *Saint Jean: L'Apocalypse*, 3rd edition (Paris: Gabalda, 1933), pp. 264 ff.

will exist until the end of time secure in the purity of its faith. St. Cyprian alluded to this charism when he spoke of the Catholic Romans as those *"ad quos perfidia habere non potest accessum."*[32]

This infallibility, not only of the Roman Pontiff, but also of the local Church of Rome, was a central theme in the ecclesiology of some of the greatest counter-Reformation theologians. Cardinal Hosius proposed this thesis in his polemic against Brentius.[33] John Driedo developed it magnificently.[34] St. Robert explained this teaching by saying that the Roman clergy and the Roman laity, as a corporate unit, could never fall away from the faith.[35] The Roman Church, as an individual local institution, can never fall away from the faith. Manifestly the same guarantee is given to no other local Church.

It is interesting to note that during the prolonged vacancy of the Roman See the presbyters and the deacons of Rome wrote to St. Cyprian in such a way as to manifest their conviction that the faith of their own local Church, even during this interregnum, constituted a norm to which the faith of other local Churches was meant to conform.[36] The Roman Church could not possibly be the one with which all the other local congregations of Christendom must agree were it not endowed with a special infallibility. In order to be effective that infallibility must be acknowledged in a very practical manner by the other local units of the Church militant throughout the world.

Actually the infallibility of the Roman Church is much more than a mere theological opinion. The proposition that "the Church of the city of Rome can fall into error" is one of the theses of Peter de Osma, formally condemned by Pope Sixtus IV as erroneous and as containing manifest heresy.[37]

Since it is true that the local Church of Rome is infallible in its faith, and that the Holy Father is the only authoritative teacher of the local Church of Rome, it follows that he teaches infallibly

[32] *Ep.* 59, in *CSEL*, 3, 2, 683.

[33] Cf. Hosius, *Confutatio prolegomenon Brentii* (Lyons, 1564), pp. 170 ff.

[34] Cf. Driedo, *De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus* (Louvain, 1530), lib. 4, c. 3, pp. 549 ff.

[35] Cf. St. Robert, *op. cit.*, col. 812.

[36] This letter is listed among the epistles of St. Cyprian, n. 30.

[37] Cf. *DB*, 730.

when he definitely settles a question about faith or morals so as to fix or determine the belief of that local Church. Since the local Church of Rome is an effective standard for all the other local Churches, and for the universal kingdom of God on earth, in matters of belief, the Holy Father must be considered as addressing the entire Church militant, at least indirectly, when he speaks directly and definitively to the local congregation of the Eternal City. Thus it is perfectly possible to have a definition of the type described in the Vatican Council's Constitution *Pastor aeternus,* one in which the Holy Father speaks *ex cathedra,* "exercising his function as the pastor and the teacher of all Christians" and so "according to his supreme apostolic authority defines a doctrine about faith or morals to be held by the universal Church,"[38] precisely when he speaks to determine the faith of the local Church of Rome.

It is a matter of manifest Catholic doctrine that the episcopate of the local Church of Rome and the visible primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church militant are not actually two episcopates, but constitute only one episcopal function. Today, unfortunately, we are prone to imagine that the headship of the Christian community in the city on the Tiber is something hardly more than incidental to the Sovereign Pontificate. Indicative of this tendency is the declaration of a recent and well-written book about the Holy Year, a statement to the effect that "One of the Holy Father's titles is Bishop of Rome."[39]

Such a statement is not erroneous, but it might well be considered somewhat misleading. "Bishop of Rome" is not merely one of the titles of the Holy Father, it is actually the name of the office which constitutes him as St. Peter's successor and as the Vicar of Christ on earth. And, when the same volume speaks of "the return of the Apostolic See to Rome,"[40] with reference to the end of the residence of the Popes in Avignon, it is using a definitely bad terminology. The Apostolic See, the *cathedra Petri,* never left the Eternal City. The men who ruled the Church from Avignon were just as truly the Bishops of Rome as any others

[38] *DB,* 1839.

[39] Cf. Fenichell and Andrews, *The Vatican and Holy Year* (New York: Halcyon House, 1950), p. 89.

[40] *Ibid.,* p. 4.

among the successors of St. Peter. It is precisely by reason of the inseparable residence within it of the *Cathedra Petri* that the local Church of Rome possesses its extraordinary privileges and charisms within the Church militant.

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FIFTY YEARS AGO

In *The American Ecclesiastical Review* for June, 1900, the leading article is the sixth of a series on "Church Building" by Abbé J. Hogan. In this present article he takes as his particular subject the various types of ecclesiastical architecture that have been in use since the Renaissance. He describes in detail the Gothic revival of the nineteenth century in various lands, and expresses the opinion that the finest Gothic church in the United States is St. Patrick's cathedral in New York. He concludes with the provocative question, "whether in a new country and in presence of needs little felt by medieval builders there is not room for a new style of church architecture, and whether as a fact it is not positively growing up among us." . . . Fr. A. MacDonald defends the theory of the physical causality of the sacraments as the teaching of St. Thomas in the *Summa*, against the theory of "intentional causality" advocated by Billot. . . . Continuing his series of articles on "Vinum de Vite," Fr. J. Mooney suggests the following measure for giving assurance that proper wine is had for Mass: "The priest who would have a wine positively fit for use in celebrating the most holy Sacrifice will prefer to seek it from one who cannot fail him; from one who is, like himself, deeply impressed with the tremendousness of the Sacrifice. Such a one will be an ecclesiastic or at least a religious." . . . In the *Analecta* there is a response from the Sacred Penitentiary, applicable to the jubilee year, to the effect that the apostolic blessing may be given at the close of a mission, but only with the understanding that it is applied to the faithful departed. . . . There is also a response from the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition, directing the conditional repetition of an ordination ceremony in which there was no host on the paten given to the candidate. . . . Among the books reviewed we find *The Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau*, translated for the first time into English by Mary Frances Drew. The reviewer notes that "the tide of travel has already set in towards the little village in the Bavarian Alps where the wonderful drama of the Passion is being enacted this summer."

F.J.C.

Answers to Questions

THE MATERIAL OF THE SURPLICE

Question: Is it permitted to use material other than linen for surplices? We see many of cotton cloth and some of synthetic materials, like nylon. Are these legitimate?

Answer: Liturgical law requires linen or hempen fabric for the amice, alb, altar cloths, corporal, pall, and purificator. There is no positive legislation requiring that the material of the surplice be exclusively of linen or hempen cloth but it seems most proper that it be so as it is a garment derived from the alb and it is most desirable that the surplice too be of the material which is generally classed as liturgical. However, in the absence of definite prescription, the surplice may be made of cotton textile or even of one of those synthetic cloths, like nylon *(horresco referens)*. At best, materials other than linen, whether of the fine quality known as lawn or cambric or of a coarser variety, are only tolerated for surplices and *lavabo* towels, the preference of the Church being evidently for real linen or its legitimate substitute, fabric of woven hempen thread.

THE CROSS ON THE CHASUBLE

Question: What is the correct position for the cross on the chasuble? We usually see it on the back of the vestment but it sometimes appears on the front and occasionally it is missing altogether or so disguised that it seems to be absent.

Answer: As a matter of fact, no cross is definitely prescribed for the chasuble. It does figure there as a matter of almost universal custom though the *usus receptus* varies in different parts of Christendom. We are accustomed to seeing the cross on the back of the chasuble but the Italian, or Roman, form of the vestment has the cross in front. In Spain, there is no cross, either in front or in back. The *Imitation of Christ* (Book IV, Chap. V) speaks of a cross both in front and behind. The full chasuble, sometimes called the Gothic, has two forked crosses with the arms joining over the shoulders. The early medieval chasubles showed no cross,

but from the twelfth century onwards the Y-shaped cross was common. Our Latin cross does not seem to have made its appearance till the fourteenth century. Spain never adopted it and Italy placed it on the front, instead of on the back, of the vestment.

A WOODEN CROSS FOR GOOD FRIDAY?

Question: Is it required that the cross which is uncovered at the ceremonies of Good Friday be a wooden one? Some priests insist that it should be on account of the words at the unveiling: *Ecce lignum crucis.*

Answer: The *Memoriale rituum* (Tit. V, Cap. I) does prescribe that the altar cross on Good Friday be a wooden one *(crux lignea).* Liturgical writers generally presume that the usual altar cross, be it of wood or metal or stone, be used on Good Friday. So, Fortescue *(Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described),* Martinucci (Lib. II, Cap. xxv), Baldeschi (V, Cap. vii, 1). The Baltimore Ceremonial speaks of a wooden cross in detailing the ceremonies where there are no sacred ministers but says nothing about the material of the cross in the section devoted to solemn ceremonies. All authorities provide for the substitution of a small cross, easily handled, at the actual ceremony of unveiling, when the altar cross would be too heavy or too unwieldy to be used for this purpose. Wood, or very light metal, would be the most convenient material to be used in the construction of this small cross but we know of no liturgical regulation requiring wood. In conclusion, we should say that while a wooden cross is to be recommended for the unveiling on Good Friday, both because it is light and because it accords with the words of the *Ecce lignum crucis,* it is not incorrect to use a cross of other material.

WILLIAM J. LALLOU

COERCION TO JOIN UNION

Question: Have the members of a union any right to picket a store in which all the employees are non-union men, and wish to remain such, the object of the picketing being to force the employees to join the union?

Answer: It is difficult to see how such a procedure can be approved, according to Catholic moral principles—at least, under ordinary circumstances. For, *per se* a worker has a right to decide freely whether or not he will join a union. In certain instances it can happen that the affiliation of all workers in a certain form of industry is necessary for the protection of the whole group against injustice; and in that event some pressure might justly be brought to bear on those who seem determined not to join. However, this must be regarded as an exceptional case; and it seems hardly necessary to add that even in such an event, no violent measures are permissible. It should be remembered, too, that if the civil law permits shops to remain non-union at the choice of the employees, this legislation must be respected by the members of the unions.

ADVICE GIVEN BY A CONFESSOR

Question: If a confessor is questioned by a penitent regarding the lawfulness of a certain action or mode of conduct, and the confessor believes it is sinful but at the same time knows that one or the other theologian permits it, may the confessor—or even must he—tell the penitent that it is lawful, on the grounds that the latter should be allowed the benefit of a probable opinion?

Answer: When a penitent seeks advice from a confessor, he is supposed to be willing to follow his (the confessor's) views; and the confessor must tell him what he himself believes to be right or wrong. Consequently, the confessor may not propose as sufficiently probable to be followed an opinion which he himself does not accept as such, even though it may be upheld by some theologians. In the words of Merkelbach: "If an opinion which is held by others as probable appears to him [the confessor] as certainly false or improbable, or is only slightly or doubtfully probable, he must answer according to his own view" (*Summa theologiae moralis* [Paris, 1940], II, n. 107). Above all, the confessor must not fall into the mistaken notion that the mere fact that an opinion has been proposed in a theological book or article suffices to make it probable to the extent that he must allow its use to a penitent. In this connection it is well to recall the proposition condemned by Pope Alexander VII, to the effect that any

opinion that has appeared in print from the pen of a young and modern author must be regarded as probable, as long as it is not evident that it has been rejected by the Apostolic See as improbable (*DB,* 1127).

DISPENSATION FROM AN IRREGULARITY

Question: What procedure should a confessor follow if the penitent, a cleric, confesses one of the crimes which, according to Canon 985, § 4, render one irregular *ex delicto*—voluntary homicide and abortion?

Answer: If an excommunication has been incurred because of the crime, such as that which is incurred *ipso facto* by the crime of abortion (Canon 2350, §1), this must first be removed before sacramental absolution can be granted. The confessor himself may have the power to do this; but if he has not, he should ordinarily seek the faculty from one empowered to delegate it—for example, the local Ordinary, in the particular case just mentioned. If, however, the case can be considered *urgentior* or *extraordinarius,* he can absolve from the censure at once, following the prescriptions laid down in Canon 2254. When the censure has been removed, he may grant sacramental absolution if the penitent is rightly disposed. However, the dispensation from the irregularity in question involves greater difficulty, because the power of dispensing in this case is not granted by the Code either to Ordinaries or to confessors. By virtue of a special privilege some religious possess this faculty; moreover, during the Holy Year it is within the power of the ten confessors selected for each pilgrimage to Rome to dispense of cleric in the ranks of the pilgrims—but only for the purpose of continuing the exercise of Orders already received, not of advancing to a higher Order—from irregularities *ex delicto occulto,* not excluding the irregularity laid down in Canon 985, § 4 (*AAS,* XLI [1949], 519). Finally, if the cleric must wait before he can receive the dispensation, and would incur infamy if he abstained from his ministry, he may continue to exercise his functions in the meantime (Cf. Noldin-Schmitt, *Summa theologiae moralis* [Oeniponte, 1940], III, n. 500). It is pertinent to note that the explanation of an occult crime, as distinct from one that is public, can be found in Canon 2197.

THE WORKINGMAN'S PRIVILEGE

Question: Are guests at a workingman's table on a day when the workingman and his family are dispensed from abstinence entitled to share the same privilege?

Answer: Supposedly the guests to whom the questioner refers are persons who themselves do not enjoy the "workingman's privilege," dispensing them from the ecclesiatsical law of abstinence on certain days. It would seem that such guests are not automatically dispensed by the fact that they are eating with persons who receive the dispensation from the terms of the indult. For the indult mentions only members of the family as participating in the workingman's privilege; it makes no statement to the effect that the dispensation is extended to the guests at his table.

There are occasions when the guest in a workingman's home may eat meat on a day of abstinence in virtue of a prudent use of *epikeia.* Such a case would occur when a person, bound to abstinence, accepts an invitation to dine with the workingman and his family, and discovers only when he comes to table that the main course consists of meat. In this supposition, if the refusal of the guest to eat meat would cause him considerable inconvenience—inasmuch as no other substantial food is available—and would occasion great embarrassment to the host, the guest would be justified in taking the meat. But it would be unreasonable to put in the same category the person who accepts an invitation to dine while realizing that meat will be the principal dish—and, *a fortiori,* the person who comes to the workingman's table for the express purpose of sharing his privilege of exemption from abstinence.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.SS.R.

MISSION INTENTION

"Sanctification of Native Clergy" is the Mission Intention for the month of June, 1950.

Analecta

Noting in passing that the first number of the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* of the current year, dated the Feast of Epiphany, is devoted in its entirety to the five hundred seventy-six canons of the procedural code of the Oriental Church,[1] to become effective one year after its publication, one passes to the second issue of this official periodical and finds in its opening pages[2] the radio message delivered by our Holy Father on Dec. 23.

The introductory portion of the message pointed to the opening of the Holy Door which was to take place on the following day and emphasized the significance of that ceremony for the Holy Year and, indeed, for the entire half century that lies before the world. This significance lay in its portent of a spiritual revival which would keep the faithful steadfast in their resolves and immune to the seductions of promised utopias and the deceptions of party selfishness, while it rooted out from the hearts of others their false notions of God, the vain creations of their own materialistic spirit.

The main portion of the message was divided into two parts treating of the Holy Year as a time of conversion and as a time of pardon. At the opening of the first part our Holy Father addressed a paternal invitation to non-Catholics and then proceeded to speak specifically of his concern for the spiritual interests of atheists, pagans, sinners and dissidents, ending it with an appeal for the return to God of the world at large in respect both to its social and to its international obligations. In the second part of the message our Holy Father emphasized the spirit of penance that must characterize those who seek, during the Holy Year, the forgiveness of their sins, while it pointed to the forgiving spirit of Christ as an example to those public officials who are fanatically wedded to a spirit of reprisal.

The peroration was a warm repetition of the invitation to everyone everywhere to embrace the special opportunity of the Holy Year to come as pilgrims to that fatherland which is Rome, there to be invigorated with the sanctity with which sacred traditions have filled the very atmosphere.

The third number of the *Acta* of the current year contains the

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, L (1950), 1. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

radio message delivered by our Holy Father to the people of Haiti on Dec. 8, 1949,[3] to commemorate the second centenary of the founding of their capital, Port-au-Prince, established by royal decree Nov. 26, 1749. Our Holy Father pointed to the antiquity of their Christian traditions, recalling that Columbus planted the cross on their island on Dec. 6, 1492, and that the very capital whose foundation they were celebrating began as a small chapel devoted to the service of God. The growth of their capital and their nation was a significant verification of the words of the Psalmist, our Holy Father said, that it is God who builds the house and guards the city. For it is in the cross, in the unconcealed profession of the Christian faith and the religion of Christ, in the recognition of Christ's sovereignty, and in filial submission to the Head of the Church, that have been found in the past as they must be found in the future the solid foundations of their temporal and eternal happiness, the spirit of their civilization, and their prosperity as a people and as a nation. Our Holy Father insisted that the supernatural mission of the Church produces in the natural order the wholesome effects needed for a healthy society. He affirmed that in its demands for social justice the supernatural mission of the Church aims at effecting today what it accomplished in the days of the explorers through its defense of the rights of men in favor of the people living in the newly discovered lands. He pleaded for an increase of knowledge concerning the social program of the Church and for the adoption of those means that will make it efficacious. He exhorted the people to guard jealously the concordat of 1860 to continue their tradition of constant attachment to the faith of their fathers. He adverted to the fact that he was speaking to them on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception and he reminded them that the Blessed Virgin was a witness and the protrectress of their good resolves, as she was when her humble shrine, under the title of the Assumption, was the cradle of their capital. In closing, he invoked her intercession in favor of all and bestowed on them his Apostolic Blessing.

On Dec. 20, 1949,[4] the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office issued an instruction regulating the co-operation of Catholics in the promotion of reunion of erring Christians with the one true Church. It urged bishops to promote these efforts through

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

properly qualified priests, but insisted that the hierarchy should exercise close supervision over the activities of all involved in the program, and especially over publications made by Catholics or non-Catholics dealing with this subject. It warned against overemphasis of the similarities existing between the Catholic faith and the creeds of the dissidents, with deëmphasis on the serious points of divergence; against the adulteration of Catholic doctrine to make it palatable to the dissidents; against any insinuation that the Catholic deposit of faith can be improved by contact with other creeds; against the dissimulation of the faults of the Protestant Reformers and especially of the enormity of their defection from the true faith; and against sensational methods of procedure. It insisted on forthright explanation of the Church's position on justification, on the constitution of the Church, on the primacy of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, and on return to the true fold as the sole means of Christian reunion. It permitted that converts be told that they will lose nothing wrought in them by God's grace when they return to the fold and that what they already possess will be perfected rather than destroyed. But it insisted that they are never to be left under the impression that their return will make any substantial contribution to the Church.

The permission of the Holy See is required, the instruction asserts, for interdiocesan, national or international reunion conferences. However, theological conversations (*colloquia*, as opposed to *collationes* and *conventus*) can be permitted by the Ordinary of the place where they are held or by an Ordinary commissioned to do this by his colleagues. This faculty is enjoyed for only three years. Moreover an annual report must be made to the Supreme Sacred Congregation. The local Ordinary is given the faculty for the same period under the same condition to grant permission for *local* conferences (*collationes* and *conventus*). In giving this permission he must see to it that there is no *communicatio in sacris*. Moreover, he cannot give it until he has made a thorough investigation of its value and of the absence of danger to the faith, especially through the threat of a resulting spirit of indifferentism. Where such a danger exists, the permission needed by the faithful to attend is not to be granted. Meanwhile, the sessions of the conference are to be brought to a close. Permission shall never be granted to the faithful who are not adequately instructed in their

faith. The explanation of the faith is to be entrusted only to the most competent of priests, and this is particularly true of the theological conversations, the participants in which must be highly skilled in theology and rigorously orthodox in their views. On the other hand, the mere fact that in a converts' class some of the non-Catholics state their beliefs does not make of the class a reunion conference, provided that it is apparent to the group that the statement is made for the purpose of learning more clearly wherein occurs the divergence of their creed from that of the Catholic Church. Morover, the rules governing reunion conferences do not apply to meetings of Catholics and non-Catholics in which the subject for discussion is not one of faith and morals but rather the method for co-operative effort in defense of the fundamental principles of the natural law or of the Christian religion, or for the restoration of the social order, and other similar objectives. But even in these meetings Catholics are not permitted to make any concession or give approval to any proposal out of harmony with Catholic teaching.

Furthermore, even in reunion conferences there is no prohibition against the recitation, at the opening and the closing of the conference, of the Lord's Prayer or other prayer approved by the Church.

The co-operation of more than one bishop is regarded as advantageous, if not necessary, in the adequate supervision and uniform organization of the effort involved.

A letter of our Holy Father, dated Nov. 7, 1949,[5] appointed Norman Cardinal Gilroy, Archbishop of Sydney, Apostolic Legate to the First Plenary Council of India, held in January in Bangalore. Another letter, dated Dec. 8, 1949,[6] was sent to Very Rev. Adalbert Turowski, the Superior General of the Society of the Catholic Apostolate, to commemorate the centenary of the death of Ven. Vincenzo Pallotti, the founder of the Society. A letter of Dec. 20, 1949,[7] was sent to convey felicitations on the occasion of the celebration of the golden jubilee of his ordination to Most Rev. Celso Constantini, Archbishop of Teodosia in Arcadia, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and Assistant at the Papal Throne. Felicitations on the occasion of the silver

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 139. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 188. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

anniversary of his consecration were conveyed, by a letter dated Jan. 19, 1950,[8] to Most Rev. Gaetano Cicognani, Archbishop of Ancira and Apostolic Nuncio in Spain.

The Sacred Consistorial Congregation has inflicted the penalty of specially reserved excommunication on Rev. John Dechet, who has presumed to accept from the laity the post of "Administrator" of the vacant See of Neosolio. The decree imposing the penalty is dated Feb. 18, 1950,[9] and indicates that through it the delinquent priest has become a *vitandus*.

Four recently published Apostolic Constitutions have effected territorial readjustments in the various ecclesiastical subdivisions subject to the Church. One, dated June 9, 1949,[10] established in Columbia a Prefecture Apostolic to be called "de Mitu" in territory which was previously the southern part of the Vicariate Apostolic of Piani di San Martino, the Vicariate itself henceforth to be called "Villavicenio." Another Constitution, dated July 1, 1949,[11] assigned seven parishes in Piscaria, previously belonging to the Archdiocese of Chieti, to the Diocese of Penne, the See of which it transferred to Piscaria and the name of which it changed to Penne-Piscaria; at the same time it united the Diocese of Atri to the Diocese of Teramo, the Bishop of Teramo to be known in the future as the Bishop of Teramo and Atri (the Diocese of Atri had previously been united to the Diocese of Penne). A third Constitution, dated July 14, 1949,[12] separated territory from the Vicariate Apostolic of De Urundi to establish a new Vicariate Apostolic called "Ngoziensis." The fourth Constitution is also dated July 14, 1949;[13] it established a new diocese, that called "Imcheuvensis" and made it a suffragan of the Metropolitan of Mukden, Manchuria, from whose Archdiocese it took the territory constituting the new diocese.

Apostolic Letters dated Aug. 2, 1948,[14] raised to the dignity of a Minor Basilica the parish church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin under the title of "Salus infirmorum" in the town of "Pocos de caldas" of the Diocese of Guaxupé in Brazil. Letters dated March 25, 1949,[15] made the Blessed Virgin of "Valleviride" the co-equal Patroness of the City and the Diocese of Algeri. Letters of Jan. 22,

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 135.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

1950,[16] proclaimed the beatification of Ven. Vincenzo Pallotti, the way for which was prepared by the decree of Dec. 11, 1949,[17] by which the Sacred Congregation of Rites indicated that all was in order for the ultimate declaration. A similar decree, dated Nov. 27, 1949,[18] accepting the proof of the required miracles, prepared the way for the Apostolic Letters of Feb. 5, 1950,[19] proclaiming the beatification of Ven. Maria Desolata Torres Acosta, Foundress of the Servants of Mary Ministering to the Sick.

Other decrees of the Sacred Congregation accepting the proof of the miracles required for beatification were issued as follows: Nov. 27, 1949,[20] in the cause of Ven. Paola Elisabeth Cerioli, Foundress of the Institute of the Holy Family; Dec. 11, 1949,[21] in the cause of Ven. Domenico Savio; and Dec. 11, 1949,[22] in the cause of Ven. Vincenza Maria Lopez Vicuña, Foundress of the Daughters of Mary Immaculate.

Decrees regarding the heroic practice of virtue in preparation for beatification were issued as follows: May 13, 1949,[23] in the cause of Ven. Raphael Chylinski; May 13, 1949,[24] in the cause of Ven. Raphaela Maria of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Foundress of the Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus; and July 31, 1949,[25] in the cause of Ven. Bertilla Boscardin.

On Nov. 27, 1949,[26] a decree of the Sacred Congregation affirmed that all was in order for the canonization of Blessed Vincenzo Maria Strambi, a Passionist who was Bishop of Macerata and Tolentino; another decree, dated July 22, 1949,[27] provided for the reassumption of the cause of Blessed Gaspar Del Bufalo, Founder of the Fathers of the Precious Blood; and a third decree, provided, under date of March 11, 1949,[28] for the introduction of the cause of Maria Repetto.

Appointments of members of the hierarchy in the United States are officially reported as follows under date of Jan. 28, 1950:[29] Most Rev. George W. Ahr, D.D., Bishop of Trenton; Most Rev. John J. Russell, D.D., Bishop of Charleston; and Most Rev. Christopher Weldon, D.D., Bishop of Springfield, Massachusetts. Under

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 176.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 205.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 207.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

date of Jan. 30, 1950,[30] there is also reported the appointment of Most Rev. Antonio Samoré, D.D., to be Titular Archbishop of Ternobus and Apostolic Nuncio to Colombia.

RECENT PONTIFICAL APPOINTMENTS ANNOUNCED IN THE ACTA APOSTOLICAE SEDIS

Assistants at the Pontifical Throne:

Oct. 3, 1949: Most Rev. Richard O. Gerow, D.D., Bishop of Natchez, and Most Rev. Thomas J. Toolen, D.D., Bishop of Mobile.

Protonotaries Apostolic ad instar participantium:

May 15, 1946: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Peter J. Hart, of the Diocese of Trenton.

April 26, 1947: Rt. Rev. Msgr. John M. Molloy, of the Archdiocese of Dubuque.

Aug. 5, 1947: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas F. Monaghan, of the Archdiocese of Newark.

May 20, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Peter S. Huegel, of the Diocese of Harrisburg.

July 25, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Arthur B. Strenski, of the Diocese of Camden, and Herbert F. Hillenmeyer, of the Diocese of Covington.

Aug. 12, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Clarence G. Issenman, of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati.

Aug. 14, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgrs. John M. Connor and Daniel C. Fletcher, of the Diocese of Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

Oct. 24, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgr. William F. Lawlor, of the Archdiocese of Newark.

Domestic Prelates of His Holiness:

May 2, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgrs. Clarence J. Higgins and Bernard J. Sheedy, of the Diocese of Peoria.

May 20, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgrs. Hubert Louis Motry, of the Diocese of Albany; and Thomas J. Feeney and William B. Schmidt, of the Diocese of Davenport.

May 22, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. Jordan, of the Diocese of Peoria.

May 30, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgrs. Richard A. Dowed, Clarence E. Elwell, Howard J. Teare, Charles M. McBride, Thomas P. Mulligan, and John J. Oman, of the Diocese of Cleveland; and Lucian Joseph Arrell, of the Diocese of Fargo.

June 1, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Michael Eugene Kevane, of the Diocese of Sioux City.

July 31, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgrs. George P. Aberle, John J. Heinz, and John W. Hogan, of the Diocese of Bismarck; and Paul C. Bar-

[30] *Loc. cit.*

rett, Peter A. Braun, John M. Higgins, and William B. Jarboe, of the Diocese of Covington.

Aug. 18, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgrs. Joseph F. Adams, Edward E. Broderick, John W. Barrett, Thomas A. Canty, Vincent W. Cooke, Stanislaus P. Chyla, Michael J. Fennessy, John B. Ferring, William A. Gorey, Lawrence P. Hurkmans, John J. Kearns, Stephen E. McMahon, Raymond J. O'Brien, Stanislaus Radniecki, Bernard K. Szudzinski, Boleslaus Urba, and John T. Wagener, of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

Sept. 17, 1949: Rt. Rev. Msgrs. William Coleman, Donald Arthur Cunningham, Raymond Michael Galligan, Robert E. Jennings, Philip E. Matthews, John Meyers, and Clement Bernard Steger, of the Diocese of Winona.

Privy Chamberlains Supernumerary of His Holiness:

May 2, 1949: Very Rev. Msgrs. Francis P. Blecke, Gilbert Middleton, and M. V. Haas, of the Diocese of Peoria.

July 31, 1949: Very Rev. Msgr. Gilbert Henninger, of the Diocese of Owensboro.

Aug. 18, 1949: Very Rev. Msgrs. William H. Byron, Edward J. Kelly, Harry C. Koenig, Joseph T. Kush, James M. Lawler, Peter D. Meegan, Charles N. Meter, Ernest J. Primeau, Thomas J. Reed, Joseph A. Schnke, and Edward J. Smaza, of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

Sept. 17, 1949: Very Rev. Msgr. Frederick William Freking, of the Diocese of Winona.

Plaque of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class:

Dec. 30, 1949: Comm. Louis Moorhead, of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class:

Oct. 24, 1949: Giuseppe Marcello Domenico, of the Diocese of Brooklyn.

Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class:

May 2, 1949: Peter Schaefer, of the Diocese of Peoria.

May 22, 1949: Thomas Mulholland, of the Diocese of Brooklyn.

Aug. 18, 1949: Thomas J. Condon, Joseph L. Kania, and John J. Krez, of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

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Book Reviews

SEARCHLIGHTING OURSELVES. The Retreat Notes of Timothy Brosnahan, S.J. Edited by Francis P. Lebuffe, S.J. New York: Jesuit S.M.B. Press, 1949. Pp. vi + 288. $4.00.

Prepared according to a four-week plan, this book takes the reader through the end of man, the purpose of creatures, the rule of indifference, triple sin, personal sin, hell, and sin, in the first week. In the second week, it develops the ideas of the kingdom, the incarnation, the nativity, the flight into Egypt, the loss in the temple, the hidden life, the calling of the apostles, the two standards, the three classes of men, the three degrees of humility, and Judas, from the Life of Our Lord. The Passion and Resurrection are the subject of the third week, which considers the agony in the Garden, Peter, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the appearance to the disciples. In the fourth week the book considers the purpose of the exercises, putting order into our lives, the particular examen, obedience, charity, and the appearance at the seaside. Special meditations—thoughts on a renewal of vows, the eight beatitudes, the heart of a holy woman—conclude the work.

When the appointed time rolls around for the annual retreat it happens, on occasion, that one who is to make the retreat searches his library, asking himself, "What can I take along this year which will help me in making a good retreat?" It is not novelty the seeker seeks, but a sound, serious presentation of the fundamental truths of what life is and what one should do with it. Here in this book, one feels, is the object which will shorten the search and afford the searcher a collection of thoughts which will afford him many hours of profitable reflection in the course of his retreat. Whether he spends four weeks in retreat, or only a few days, he should still be able to gather much fruit from it.

THOMAS OWEN MARTIN

NEOPOLATONISM AND THE ETHICS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. By Bruno Switalski, C.SS.R. New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1946. Pp. xxxii + 113. $3.95.

Studies in the philosophy of Plotinus increase in number, with the result that his greatness as a thinker and the vast extent of his influence become increasingly clear to modern students. In the present volume Fr. Switalski first presents the main features of Plotinus's ethics and its sources, and then gives a summary of St. Augustine's ethical doctrine. In the second part of his study the author discusses the role that the Enneads played in Augustine's conversion. He proceeds to show

the great influence that Plotinian concepts and principles had in the formation of Augustine's moral doctrine.

It is pointed out that deeply influenced as he was by Plotinus and great as was his admiration for this noble pagan thinker, Augustine's judgments were always cautious and sure. From Plotinus he would take only what conformed to his critical sense and only those doctrines that did not oppose the teachings of the Church. Hence from the Plotinian writings he rejects idolatry, metempsychosis, and certain superstitions. As wholly or at least partially consistent with Catholic teaching he accepted Plotinus's teachings on happiness, the vision of God, the way leading to Him, the nature of evil, and the eternal law. Augustine finds that he can complete and perfect these Plotinian doctrines by what is given to him by Sacred Scripture and the doctrines of the Church.

The author gives two final conclusions. One of these is negative: he rejects the opinion "that Augustine was a syncretist and that he created an eclectic system which was a mixture of various philosophical systems within the scope of Hellenistic culture." The author's positive conclusion is that Augustine does not blindly follow Plotinus "but judges his doctrine in the light of the authority of the Church, which authority as infallible was for him the criterion of truth . . . he selected only those ideas from the writings of Plotinus which were not opposed to Christian revelation."

Fr. Switalski's book was originally published in 1938 at the University of Warsaw and the present volume is a translation from the Polish. The translation makes use of recent American studies on Plotinus. It contains an index and an elaborate bibliography and it is thoroughly documented. It should contribute to the understanding of both Plotinian and Augustinian moral teachings.

JOHN K. RYAN

A SKETCH OF MEDIAEVAL PHILOSOPHY. By D. J. B. Hawkins. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1947. Pp. 174. $2.00.

Into a small space Fr. Hawkins has compressed a large amount of sound information about the philosophical movements of the Middle Ages and their chief representatives. The chapters of his too modestly named volume are the substance of a series of lectures given before the Newman Association in England. Wishing to cover a vast field, he has naturally concentrated upon its leading figures. Hence he discusses Erigena, St. Anselm, Abelard, St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham, among others. An introductory chapter states the sources and aims of mediaeval philosophy, another chapter is devoted to the recovery of Aristotle, and the

final chapters discuss the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the position of scholasticism during the renaissance and in succeeding centuries. A selected bibliography and an index complete the book.

This reviewer recommends *A Sketch of Mediaeval Philosophy* without reservation. It is clearly and effectively written; it is sound in its judgments; it is instructive both to the general reader and to the specialized student. Above all, it should be valuable to those who need a proper introduction to mediaeval thought, either because they lack knowledge of it or because they are in error as to its nature and worth. The author knows the work of the great thinkers of the Middle Ages, has caught their spirit, and can communicate his knowledge and insight to others. As he states in conclusion, the modern student needs a historical introduction to mediaeval thought. After such an introduction he will find that much more than historical curiosity has been satisfied when an acquaintance is made with St. Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, and above all St. Thomas Aquinas.

JOHN K. RYAN

LINEAMENTI DI DIRITTO CANONICO. By Sac. Luigi Oldani. Milan: Casa Editrice La Scuola Cattolica, Seminario Arcivescovile di Milano, Venegono Inferiore, 1949. Pp. 326.

The constant pressure on the available time for fundamental studies in seminaries has influenced the author, as he himself says, to offer this book as an aid in the study of Canon Law.

After an introduction which, besides the usual matter, contains several interesting items concerning the codification of Canon Law, the first and second books of the Code are explained. The content of the first book is somewhat rearranged to no advantage apparent to the reviewer. The second book considers, in addition to the law of Persons, many canons in the third book of the Code which refer to Sacred Orders in one way or another.

Of course, in a book of this size, little more than the barest outline of Canon Law can be found. This is unfortunate, for the basic laws must be well understood before the specific enactments can be explained. Much, therefore, of controversy is absent from this book.

There are, however, several points which should be praised. The author has, for instance, correctly described the function of the Instructions of the Sacred Congregations. He has accurately determined the meaning of *missa privata* in the computation of time. He has also furnished some details of the particular law of the Archdiocese of Milan. These latter items are useful in the comparative study of particular legislation.

EDWARD ROELKER

DE IURE RELIGIOSORUM AD NORMAM CODICIS IURIS CANONICI. Editio tertia revisa atque notabiliter aucta. P. Ludovicus I. Fanfani, O.P., Professor in Angelicum de Urbe. Rovigo: Istituto Padano di Arti Grafiche, 1949. Pp. xxxi + 810.

This work is a manual presenting an integrated exposition of the law of religious. Its chief merit lies in its method of assembling under chosen headings the related laws governing societies of religious both in respect to their establishment and internal government and activity of the members, as well as to their external relationship to ecclesiastical society and ecclesiastical persons as such.

The disposition of the subject matter is in topical arrangement. After an introductory chapter on general concepts, the author's schematic plan follows in general the titles of the Code of Canon Law found in the Second Book under *Pars secunda, De religiosis.* There are appropriately offered such subjects as *De cultu divino* and *De magisterio ecclesiastico.* The insertion of these titles on the performance of divine offices and ministrations and on the teaching office of the Church, as well as the manner of treatment throughout the work seek to present the operation of the law of religious as to matters of internal government and observance and also concerning the conduct of religious in their external juridic relations and jurisdictional spheres of their activity. Thus the author makes amply clear and in a practical manner that the law of religious is not at all confined to the title *De religiosis* in the Code of Canon Law.

In pursuing and achieving this result the author concerns himself first of all with collating the legally related materials taken from various parts of the Code. These materials are didactically set out in the light of the pronouncements of the Holy See regarding the respective subject matter. Thus, by way of example, the author makes skillful use of the *Normae* of 1921 in explaining in a practical manner the series of steps involving the foundation, establishment and approbation of religious institutes.

To this exposition of the law the author opportunely adds his own commentaries. These consist of his own observations on the meaning of words and phrases in the legal text and of conclusions drawn by the author from the legal premises offered in the foregoing. Cross references to canons of the Code appear in abundance. Very frequently the commentary appears in the form of *Dubia* and *Responsa* in connection with which reference is appropriately made to documents of the Holy See concerning the matter presently treated. These observations and notes are very helpful to a fuller understanding of the law in its practical application. The author employs a facile style, without verbiage, which lends clarity to the exposition. He introduces repetition of the

same legal materials when they are presented from a different point of view. The result is a better understanding of their applicability.

A general characteristic of this work is absence of juristic disquisitions of any length on particular subject matters. As to cited source materials the work confines itself generally to the use of primary and, for the most part, current juridic documents, such as, for instance, responses of the Holy See. It does not, as a rule, offer doctrinal expositions of legal questions with the use of cited opinions of authors.

At the risk of being, perhaps, too severe, the writer submits the opinion that many portions of this work are not presented in a manner and form which one would expect in a scientific work of the first rank. The author often does not give to the reader the assurance that his own observations are based upon the accepted canonical teaching and jurisprudence (cf. canons 6, 18, 19, and 20). There is, in other words, a dearth of cited doctrinal authority. To obviate this defect would entail, of course, the preparation of a larger work. However, another and perhaps the more important answer to this criticism may lie in the principal purpose of the work which the author seems to have had in mind. This purpose, as indicated above, is to assemble under separate topical headings the related canons in various parts of the Code in respect to religious, and this arrangement of the legal materials appears to constitute the chief contribution of this work. In other words, the manner of presentation demonstrates the necessary functional coherence in each specific instance between the laws of religious aggregated properly under the title *De religiosis* in the Code and the many other laws in the Code outside this title which are immediately involved in the activities of religious.

It is misleading to state (pp. 214 f.) that validly to hear the confessions of seculars and even of religious of another Order (*alterius Ordinis* [?]), all religious must have (*religioso quicunque indigent*) delegation of the Ordinary of the respective place of confession. This statement takes no account of the provisions of canon 875, §1.

The reader may notice that the author inclines at times to the stricter view. For example, in his opinion (p. 316) the training by the novice master as outlined in canon 565 necessarily requires some manifestation of conscience or attitude (*necessario requirit quandam animi manifestationem*) on the part of the novice, for its proper and successful result. Furthermore, the refusal by the novice to comply in this respect, the author continues, is alone a sign of lack of disposition to receive the required training. The writer is of the opinion that a little consideration will show this view to be entirely too severe and so general that it is useless as to practical application. Again, it is stated (p. 467) that nuns (*moniales*) in simple triennial religious profession are without question (*certissime*) subject to the excommunication provided in

canon 2342, 3°. This view is not at all entirely certain. There is an opinion to the contrary; and with good reason, in view of canons 19 and 2219, §1, and especially of pre-Code legislation (cf. can. 6).

There is ample reason for taking issue with the view (p. 229) both as to concept and its practical results that a bank deposit of money at interest as a temporary transaction is merely the simple act of preserving or depositing money for custody. The legal implications both at civil and canon law (cf. can. 1529 and can. 1533) of a deposit at interest, even temporary, go quite beyond the simple transfer into custody. Hence it is at least dangerous to make the general statement that such a transaction is not subject to the rules incident to investment properly so called. Would the author exclude any application of the rules on alienation (can 1533)? The concept of alienation (p. 234) is not sufficiently well expressed to include the provision of canon 1533. In fact, the explanation of the concept of alienation as here offered leaves much to be desired, especially in view of its applicability to various practical situations. One does not expect the author to offer a dissertation on this matter; however, it would have been opportune to refer here to treatises concerning this particular subject, with the statement that the compass of the present work does not allow of the necessary more complete treatment. The absence of references to the more extensive and complete treatises on the respective subject matter is noticed in other parts of this work.

The title concerning ecclesiastical benefices in charge of religious (*De beneficiis ecclesiasticis religiosis concreditis*, p. 635) could well have been considerably augmented; it contains practically nothing except the quotation of several canons. A cognate matter, parochial benefices in charge of religious (p. 604), which involves many practical questions, is too brief.

There is a title on societies whose members live in common without vows, and also one concerning secular institutes according to the Constitution of Pius XII, *Provida Mater Ecclesia*, of Feb. 2, 1947. In other parts of his work the author makes opportune references to these institutes in order to distinguish them from religious institutes. The work as such concludes with a treatment on third orders secular and on confraternities and pious unions established at the churches of religious.

There are four useful appendices: the Norms according to which the S. Congregation of Religious proceeds in the approbation of new religious congregations (1921); the Instruction *Quantum religiones* concerning the preparation of members of religious institutes and societies of clerics as candidates for the priesthood; the Instruction *Nuper editio* concerning the cloister of nuns of solemn vows; Statutes to be observed by extern sisters of monasteries of nuns of every order.

The work contains an itemized table of contents and an extensive alphabetical index. The bibliographical list of authors presents only

twenty titles. This list is not responsive to the demands of the extensive scope of this work.

With the text of the Code as a basis, this book can be employed to excellent advantage as an aid to teacher and student, especially on the undergraduate level, for the presentation and study of the necessary connection between the canons of the title *De religiosis* and the many other laws of the Code outside this title which are applicable also to religious, an interrelation which must fully be appreciated in order to obtain a properly integrated, working knowledge of the law of religious and its practical application. The work will serve quite the same purpose also for the religious superior and religious generally. As thus furnishing a fundamental, panoramic approach to the law of religious, this work is a welcome contribution to the current literature on this branch of Canon Law. J. SCHMIDT

CARDINAL MANNING ON PREACHING

S. Paul said: "God sent me not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel." The Council of Trent says that preaching is the chief office of Bishops; and if it be the chief work of the Bishop, how much more of the priest. If Isaias was afraid to speak in the name of God because he was "a man of unclean lips," what shall we judge of the sanctity and dignity of the preacher? If a prophet could hardly dare to preach in God's name, where shall the pulpit orators appear? That which was ordained for their help becomes unto them the occasion of falling. To be chosen out and to be sent by God to speak to men in His name, to come as a messenger *a latere Jesu* to preach penance and the remission of sins, to show the way of sanctity and of perfection in His name, in His words, and by His authority—who would dare these things if necessity were not laid upon him? To speak in God's name coldly, carelessly, and without due knowledge, without exact preparation, what rashness, what peril. To preach ostentatiously, with self manifestation, vanity, and unreality—how provoking to our Divine Master, how scandalous to souls. The simple, the humble, and the faithful instinctively detect the preacher who preaches himself; even men of the world, accustomed to the brief and peremptory language of earnest life, at once find out the unreal and the professional. They will listen to an honest preacher, though he be rude and rough. The fewer of his own words and the more of God's words, the surer he is to command the hearing and the respect of men. They feel that he has a right to speak, and that he is speaking in the name and in the words of his Master. They feel too that he has forgotten himself, and is thinking only of the message from God, and of the souls before him. He is teaching them what God has first taught him.

—Henry Edward Cardinal Manning in *The Eternal Priesthood* (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1944), pp. 99 ff.

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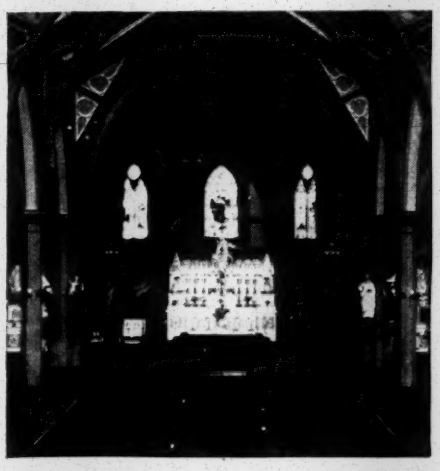

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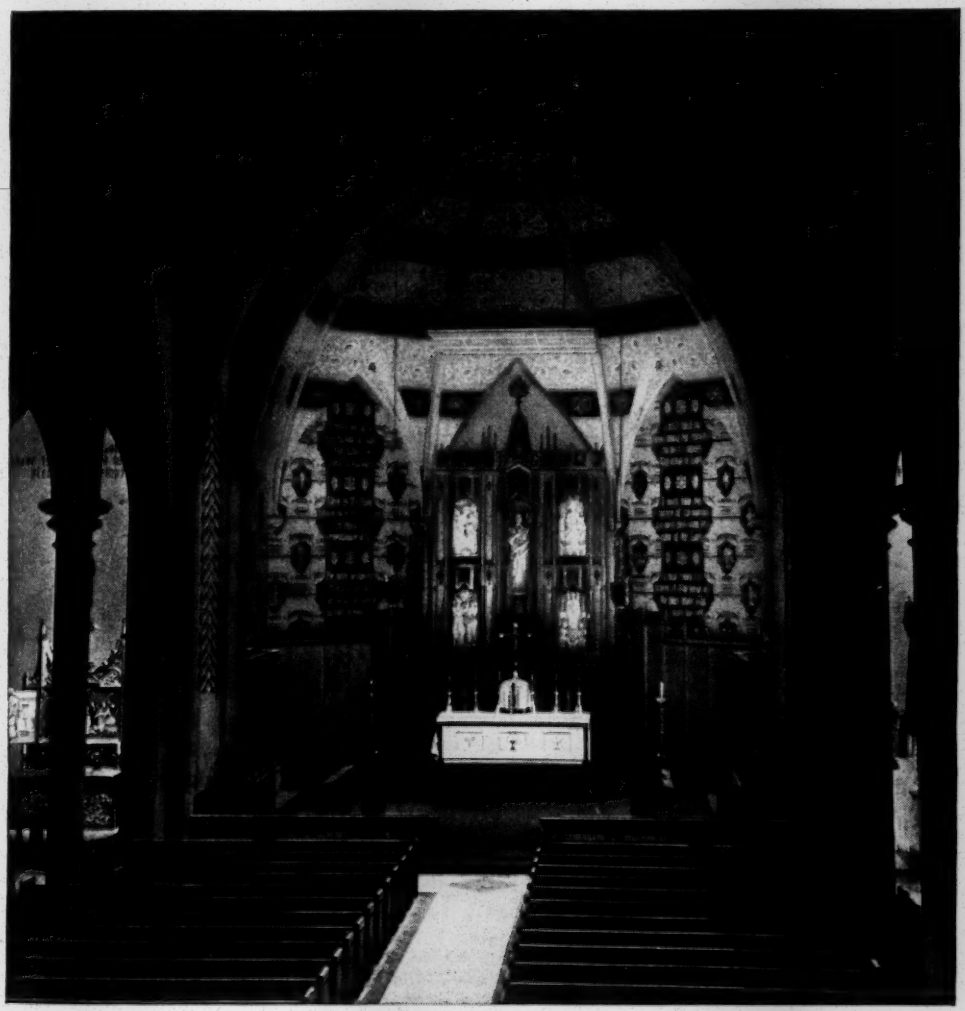

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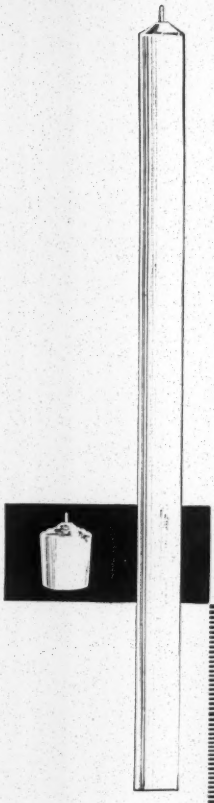

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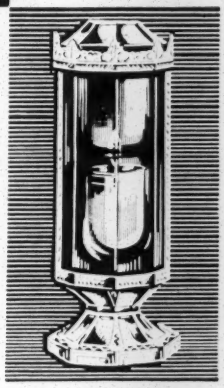

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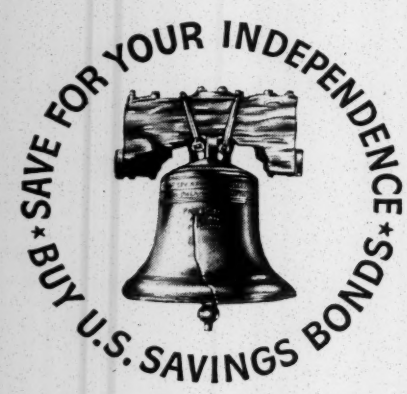

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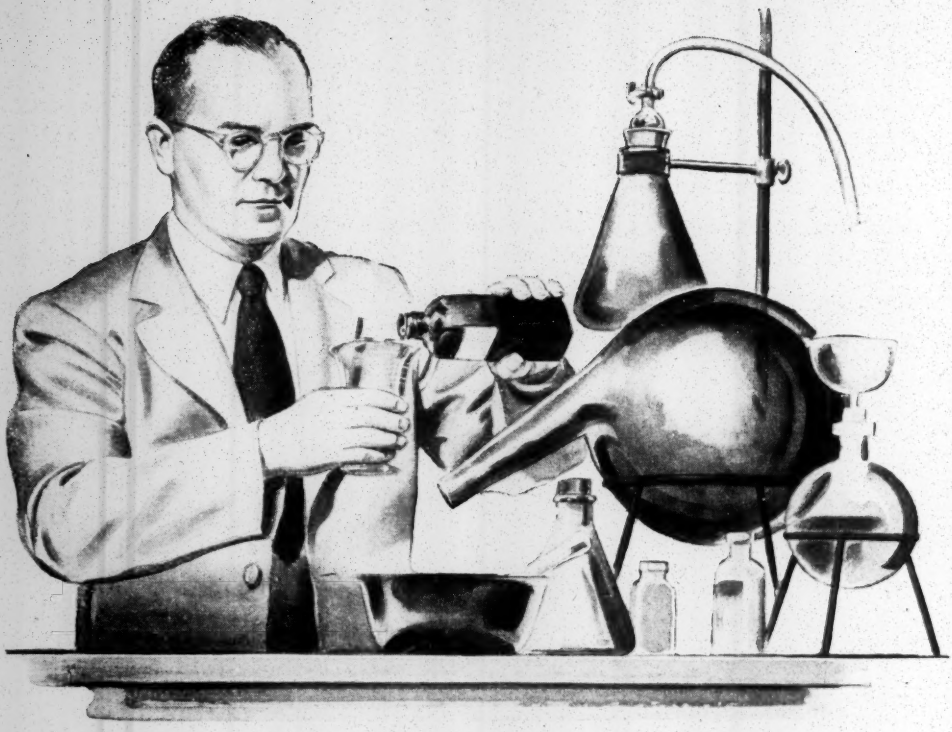

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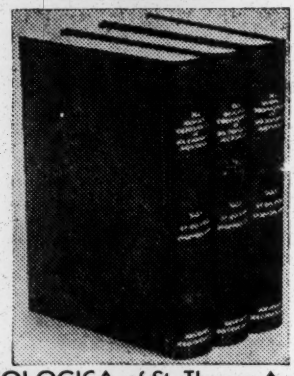

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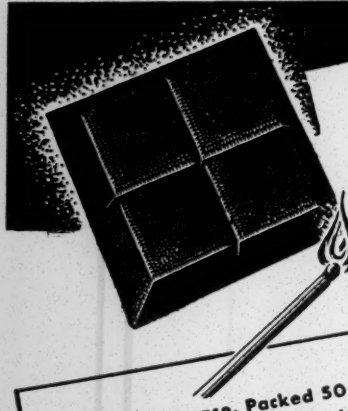

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